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# JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S SPEECHES

## VOLUME FOUR

September 1957—April 1963





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September 1957—April 1963

VOLUME FOUR



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## PREFACE

This volume, which is the fourth in the series, contains a selection of Jawaharlal Nehru's speeches delivered during the period September 1957 to April 1963. These are grouped under eight heads. The speeches under each head are arranged chronologically.

The concept of India's unity receives great emphasis in the speeches covered by this volume. With the liberation of Goa, India's independence became complete. In regard to the language question, the principle of a smooth change-over was formulated as a part of national policy. The inauguration of panchavati raj, the formation of Maharashtra and Gujarat and the creation of the State of Nagaland were acts of democratic faith. The period also witnesses a conscious, organized effort to promote emotional integration amongst the people so as to strengthen the one-nation ideal. The Chinese aggression was a deep challenge to the country's freedom and integrity, yet the upheaval it caused only proved the nation's inner vitality and unity. It "suddenly lifted a veil from the face of India. . . . We have had a glimpse of the strong and serene face of India, strong and yet calm and determined, that ancient face which is ever young and vibrant."

During this period, India's Second Five Year Plan ended, and the Third Five Year Plan made some progress. Each Five Year Plan has its strategy; each Plan represents an advance to the pre-determined goal and is a link in the chain of efforts. Hence the emphasis on perspective planning. The Chinese menace does not detract from the importance of planning; on the other hand it emphasizes the need for rapid industrial and economic development.

The crisis in India-China relations inevitably dominates Foreign Affairs. The speeches under RELATIONS WITH CHINA beginning with 'Happenings in Tibet' unfold the story of Chinese perfidy culminating in her massive attack on India's established border in October 1962. In his broadcast to the nation on the night of October 22 the Prime Minister said that there were not many instances in history where a country had returned good for evil. While we had gone out

of our way to be friendly and co-operative with the Chinese Government and pleaded their cause in the councils of the world, the Chinese Government in return committed aggression on us and invaded our country. On behalf of the nation the Prime Minister stated in Parliament: "No self-respecting country which loves its freedom and its integrity can possibly submit to this challenge. Certainly India, this dear land of ours, will never submit to it... We accept the challenge in all its consequences." India accepted the Colombo proposals in "pursuit of peaceful methods where they do not come in the way of our firm determination, our integrity and freedom."

On the larger question of international peace, Nehru's was a tireless plea for lessening tension in order to save the world from a nuclear holocaust. "The choice today before the world is a choice which has never been posed before. It is a choice of self-extinction or survival."

The volume includes speeches of tribute to such eminent Indians as Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Maulana Azad and Dr. Karve.

Besides speeches, the volume includes some written statements and published articles.

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## SYNTHESIS IS OUR TRADITION

TO ENDEAVOUR TO understand and describe the India of today would be the task of a brave man. To describe tomorrow's India would verge on rashness.

What is India? That is a question which has come back again and again to my mind. The early beginnings of our history filled me with wonder. It was the past of a virile and vigorous race with a questing spirit and an urge for free inquiry and, even in its earliest known period, giving evidence of a mature and tolerant civilization. Accepting life and its joys and burdens, it was ever searching for the ultimate and the universal. It built up a magnificent language, Sanskrit, and through this language, its arts and architecture, it sent its vibrant message to far countries. It produced the *Upanishads*, the *Gita* and the Buddha.

Hardly any language in the world has probably played that vital part in the history of a race which Sanskrit has. It was not only the vehicle of the highest thought and some of the finest literature, but it became the uniting bond for India, in spite of its political divisions. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were woven into the texture of millions of lives in every generation for thousands of years. I have often wondered, if our race forgot the Buddha, the *Upanishads* and the great epics, what then will it be like! It would be uprooted and would lose the basic characteristics which have clung to it and given it distinction throughout these long ages. India would cease to be India.

Gradually deterioration set in. Thought lost its freshness and became stale, and the vitality and exuberance of youth gave place to crabbed age. Instead of the spirit of adventure



there came lifeless routine, and the broad and exciting vision of the world was cabined and confined and lost in caste divisions, narrow social customs and ceremonials. Even so, India was vital enough to absorb the streams of people that flowed into her mighty ocean of humanity and she never quite forgot the thoughts that had stirred her in the days of her youthful vigour.

Subsequently, India was powerfully influenced by the coming of Islam and Muslim invasions. Western colonial powers followed, bringing a new type of domination and a new colonialism and, at the same time, the impact of fresh ideas and of the industrial civilization that was growing up in Europe. This period culminated, after a long struggle, in independence and now we face the future with all this burden of the past upon us and the confused dreams and stirrings of the future that we seek to build.

We have all these ages represented in us and in our country today. We have the growth of nuclear science and atomic energy in India, and we also have the cow-dung age.

In the tumult and confusion of our time, we stand facing both ways, forward to the future and backwards to the past, being pulled in both directions. How can we resolve this conflict and evolve a structure for living which fulfils our material needs and, at the same time, sustains our mind and spirit? What new ideals or old ideals varied and adapted to the new world can we place before our people, and how can we galvanize the people into wakefulness and action?

For the present, in India we are rightly absorbed in the Five Year Plans and in a tremendous effort to raise our people's living standards. Economic progress is essential and a prerequisite for any other type of advance. But a doubt creeps into our minds. Is this by itself enough or is something else to be added on to it? The Welfare State is a worthwhile ideal, but it may well be rather drab. The examples of States which have achieved that objective bring out new problems and difficulties, which are not solved by material advance alone or by a mechanical civilization. Whether religion is necessary or not, a certain faith in a worthwhile ideal is essential to give substance to our lives and to hold us together.

Change is essential but continuity is also necessary. The future has to be built on the foundations laid in the past and in the present. To deny the past and break with it completely is to uproot ourselves and, sapless, dry up. It was the virtue of Gandhiji to keep his feet firmly planted in the rich traditions of our race and our soil and, at the same time, to function on the revolutionary plane. Above all, he laid stress on truth and peaceful means. Thus he built on old foundations, and at the same time, oriented the structure towards the future.

When Islam came to India in the form of political conquest it brought conflict. It had a twofold effect. On the one hand, it encouraged the tendency of Hindu society to shrink still further within its shell; on the other, it brought a breath of fresh air and fresh ideals, and thus had a certain rejuvenating influence. Hindu society had become a closed system. The Muslims who came from outside brought their own closed system with them. Hence the great problem that faced India during the medieval period was how these two closed systems, each with its strong roots, could develop a healthy relationship. Wise rulers like Akbar and others realized that the only hope for the future lay in some kind of harmony being established.

The philosophy and the world outlook of the old Hindus was amazingly tolerant; and yet they had divided themselves up into numerous separate caste groups and hierarchies. The Muslims had to face a new problem, namely how to live with others as equals. In other countries where they had gone, their success was so great that this problem did not really arise. They came into conflict with Christendom and through hundreds of years the problem was never solved. In India, slowly a synthesis was developed. But before this could be completed, other influences came into play.

The new liberal thought of the West and industrial processes began to affect the mind and life of India. A new nationalism developed, which was inevitably against colonialism and sought independence, and yet which was being progressively affected by the new industrial civilization as well as the language, literature and ways of the West.

Ram Mohan Roy came, seeking some kind of a synthesis.

between old India and modern trends. Vivekananda brought back something of the vigour of old Indian thought and dressed it in a modern garb. Political and cultural movements grew up and culminated in Gandhiji and Rabindranath Tagore.

In Europe there had been a fierce conflict between science and traditional religion, and the cosmology of Christianity did not fit in at all with scientific theories. Science did not produce that sense of conflict in India and Indian philosophy could easily accept it without doing any vital injury to its basic conceptions.

In India, as elsewhere, two forces developed—the growth of nationalism and the urge for social justice. Socialism and Marxism became the symbols of this urge for social justice and, apart from their scientific content, had a tremendous emotional appeal for the masses.

Living is a continual adjustment to changing conditions. The rapidity of technological change in the last half century has made the necessity of social change greater than ever, and there is a continual maladjustment. The advance of science and technology makes it definitely possible to solve most of the economic problems of the world and, in particular, to provide the primary necessities of life to everyone all over the world. The methods adopted will have to depend upon the background and cultural development of a country or a community.

Internationally, the major question today is that of world peace. The only course open is for us to accept the world as it is and develop toleration for each other. It should be open to each country to develop in its own way, learning from others, and not being imposed on by them. Essentially, this calls for a new mental approach. The Panchsheel, or the Five Principles, offer that approach.

There are conflicts within a nation. In a democratic apparatus with adult suffrage, those conflicts can be solved by normal constitutional methods.

In India we have had most distressing spectacles of conflicts based on provincialism or linguism. In the main, it is conflict of class interests that poses problems today, and in such cases vested interests are not easy to displace. Yet we

have seen in India powerful vested interests like those of the old princes and of the big *jagirdars*, *talukdars* and *zamindars* being removed by peaceful methods, even though that meant a break-up of a well-established system which favoured a privileged few. While, therefore, we must recognize that there is class conflict, there is no reason why we should not deal with it through these peaceful methods. They will only succeed, however, if we have a proper objective in view clearly understood by the people.

We have deliberately laid down as our objective a socialist pattern of society. Personally I think that the acquisitive society, which is the base of capitalism, is no longer suited to the present age. We have to evolve a higher order more in keeping with modern trends and conditions and involving not so much competition but much greater co-operation. We have accepted socialism as our goal not only because it seems to us right and beneficial but because there is no other way for the solution of our economic problems. It is sometimes said that rapid progress cannot take place by peaceful and democratic methods. I do not accept this proposition. Indeed, in India today any attempt to discard democratic methods would lead to disruption and would thus put an end to any immediate prospect of progress.

The mighty task that we have undertaken demands the fullest co-operation from the masses of our people. The change we seek necessitates burdens on our people, even on those who can least bear them; unless they realize that they are partners in the building of a society which will bring them benefits, they will not accept these burdens or give their full co-operation.

Whether in land or industry, or in the governmental apparatus, institutional changes become necessary from time to time as functions change. A new set of values will replace those that have governed the old acquisitive society based on the profit motive. The problem before us is ultimately to change the thinking and activities of hundreds of millions of people, and to do this democratically by their consent.

India today presents a very mixed picture of hope and anguish, of remarkable advances and at the same time of

inertia, of a new spirit and also the dead hand of the past and of privilege, of an overall and growing unity and many disruptive tendencies. Withal there is a great vitality and a ferment in people's minds and activities.

It is a remarkable thing that a country and a people rooted in the remote past, who have shown so much resistance to change in the past, should now be marching forward rapidly and with resolute steps.

What will emerge from the labour and the tumults of the present generation? I cannot say what will tomorrow's India be like. I can only express my hopes and wishes. I want India to advance on the material plane - to fulfil her Five Year Plans to raise the standards of living of her vast population; I want the narrow conflicts of today in the name of religion or caste, language or province, to cease, and a classless and casteless society to be built up where every individual has full opportunity to grow according to his worth and ability. In particular, I hope that the curse of caste will be ended, for there cannot be either democracy or socialism on the basis of caste.

Four great religions have influenced India—two emerging from her own thought, Hinduism and Buddhism, and two coming from abroad but establishing themselves firmly in India, Christianity and Islam. Science today challenges the old concept of religion. But if religion deals not with dogmas and ceremonials, but rather with the higher things of life, there should be no conflict with science or *inter se* between religions. It might be the high privilege of India to help in bringing about this synthesis. That would be in India's ancient tradition inscribed on Ashoka's Edicts.

Tomorrow's India will be what we make it by today's labours. We have started on this pilgrimage with strong purpose and good heart, and we shall reach the end of the journey, however long that might be.

What I am concerned with is not merely our material progress, but the quality and depth of our people. Gaining power through industrial processes, will they lose themselves in the quest of individual wealth and soft living? That would be a tragedy, for that would be a negation of what India has

stood for in the past and, I hope, in the present time also as exemplified by Gandhiji.

Can we combine the progress of science and technology with this progress of the mind and spirit also? We cannot be untrue to science, because that represents the basic fact of life today. Still less can we be untrue to those essential principles for which India has stood in the past throughout the ages.

### HOW DEEP IS OUR NATIONALISM?

WHAT WE ARE discussing here, whatever we may say about Assam or Bengal, is really ourselves: how we behave, how we feel, how we are excited against each other, how superficial is the covering of what we like to call "nationalism" which bursts open at the slightest irritation. It is amazing how all higher considerations are swept away when communal passions are roused. It is not only the Assamese or the Bengalis who are guilty in this regard; each one of us is a guilty party.

When we talk loudly of our nationalism, each person's idea of nationalism is his own brand of nationalism. It may be Assamese nationalism, it may be Bengali, it may be Gujarati, U.P., Punjabi or Madras. Each one has his particular brand in his mind. He may use the words "nationalism of all India", but in his mind he is thinking of that nationalism in terms of his own brand of it. When two brands of nationalism come into conflict, there is trouble.

We live in a closed society—not one closed society, but numerous closed societies. There is a Bengali closed society, a Marathi closed society, a Malayali closed society, and so on. This is not all. For, when you go abroad you will find that, wherever Indians are living in large numbers, they have a separate Gujarati club, a separate Malayali club, a separate Bengali club, and so on. It is strange they do not have a single

Indian club, instead. They even have a separate Gorakhpuri club. I remember this particularly, because the Gorakhpuri club of Rangoon once gave me a purse of Rs. 10,000. This tendency of separateness is ingrained in our background, in our upbringing, and in our social structure. Of course, these social patterns are changing and breaking up. That is a good thing.

Similarly, we talk very proudly and loudly about tolerance, and that is the lesson of the whole of Indian culture. It is a culture of tolerance undoubtedly. But as compared to, let us say, European culture, as it shows itself in European history, it is a tolerance of conscience that we always had. But where it strikes our social habits, we have been and are intolerant. A person may believe in God or believe in the negation of God, and you put up with him. In other countries he might have been dealt with very harshly. Here, you can believe anything you like, but you must abide by the social rules that have been laid down by your caste. If you do not, you get into trouble. You are not only pushed out and excommunicated but you are pursued in a hundred ways. This may not happen so much in cities like Delhi and Calcutta where things are different, but caste is a mighty power in the villages even today.

This mixture of the widest catholicity of thought or of philosophy which has made us great in many ways and a narrowness in social life is a curious mixture. Of course, we are outgrowing this narrowness to some extent. But it continues to affect our political life. When we bring in democracy and open the door of opportunity to everyone this narrow outlook brings about group conflict. The so-called nationalism of one group comes up against the so-called nationalism of the other.

What is communalism itself? You may well have described Hindu communalism as Hindu nationalism and Muslim communalism as Muslim nationalism, and you would have been correct. They were different nationalisms. They came into conflict with each other.

Take the language question. In the rest of the world every educated man is supposed to know three or four

languages. It is only in India that he resents being asked to learn a language. It is a most extraordinary thing.

In Assam, we are dealing not with a few malefactors and mischief-makers. We may get hold of them and punish them, but the fact remains that evil men flourish on occasions like this because they are in tune with the mind of the multitude. The mind of the multitude is often the product of several generations. The language question to the Assamese is only a symbol of this mind, a symbol of their individuality, of their existence as Assamese, of their future. When a thing becomes a symbol in this way, rightly or wrongly, it becomes difficult to deal with it. It goes above reason, and becomes an article of faith. When this happens, it is relatively easy for it to be exploited for wrong ends. The ground having been prepared, the wrong persons came in, excited them, and moved them to wrong action.

It is a very grave tragedy for people in one State to be driven out either by force or through sheer panic. Panic is so infectious that it is difficult to deal with it. It is terrible, this spectre of the old evil coming out. It is a symbol of our weakness, of our failings, of disruptiveness, of narrowness of mind, of our incapacity to function together and of a tendency to go to pieces.

If the tragedy in Assam has done one good thing, it is to bring out this skeleton from our mental cupboard. At least, I hope, it has brought it out so that we could see this very ugly thing for what it is.

The Assam-Bengal trouble is a very, very serious aspect of our national problem on the solution of which the whole future of this country depends. In this matter everyone of us has to blame himself, and I include myself.



## DUTY OF THE SERVICES

I AM MAKING this direct appeal to all our colleagues and co-workers who serve the Government of India, in whatever capacity they may be functioning.

After fourteen years of Independence, hard work and travail, of considerable success and occasional failure, we have arrived at a critical phase in our national existence. Indeed this critical phase applies to the international scene also, and no man can say what the future may bring to this afflicted world.

But our immediate concern is inevitably our own country and the hundreds of millions of people who inhabit it. Even our service to the world can best be achieved through our serving our own people.

We have started on the Third Five Year Plan. This is a mighty effort, based on the strong foundations laid in the First and Second Five Year Plans, and aiming still higher. We are determined to succeed in this great adventure. We have faith in it because we have faith in our people, and it is the hard work and co-operative spirit of our people that will bring success and the advancement of our people to greater prosperity and equality of opportunity. The Third Plan will, we hope, take us out of the rut of poverty that has brought so much unhappiness and degradation to our millions.

To make good Plans is not easy, but far more difficult is to implement them. That implementation demands the joint effort of all our people. More particularly it demands the effort of the vast governmental administrative machinery. I am, therefore, appealing to this vast machinery of government, spread out all over India, which carries the burden of government and on whose activities depends the success of everything that we may undertake.

I appeal to all of them for integrity in the public services. This is not merely an ideal to be thought of or to be aimed at, but something which has to be practically achieved. It is intimately connected with the individual good of all of us.

Let our public services be a model of integrity and efficiency, of co-operation and courtesy.

I would appeal to each one of us to work continuously and deliberately for the promotion of national unity and emotional integration of all our people. Each one of us must realize that the only future for India and her people is one of tolerance and co-operation which have been the basis of our culture from ages past.

We have laid down in our Constitution that India is a secular State. That does not mean irreligion. It means equal respect for all faiths and equal opportunities for those who profess any faith. We have, therefore, always to keep in mind this vital aspect of our culture which is also of the highest importance in the India of today. Those who put up barriers between one Indian and another and who promote disruptive tendencies do not serve the cause of India or her culture. They weaken us at home and discredit us abroad. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that we should work for this emotional integration of India.

This applies to linguistic differences also. It is our proud privilege to have great languages, intimately connected with each other. Let us serve them all and not consider any language which is not our own mother-tongue as something alien. All these languages have grown up through the ages and are of the flesh and blood of India. If any one is injured that injury is of India.

I appeal, therefore, for this conscious effort on the part of all of us for the emotional integration of all our people. I want this translated into the day-to-day activities of ours, official or non-official, so that we may build up the India of our dreams.

## COMMUNALISM, A BADGE OF BACKWARDNESS

THE STRENGTH OF India will increase in the measure we can march together. Communalism is the badge of a backward nation, not of the modern age. People have their religion and they have a right to hold firmly to it, but to import religion into politics and to break up the country is something which was done in Europe 300 or 400 years back. We in India have to get rid of it.

We have declared that we will fight communal organizations in every way, whether they are Muslim organizations or Hindu organizations or Sikh or any other. Nationalism cannot exist together with communalism. Nationalism does not mean Hindu nationalism, Muslim nationalism or Sikh nationalism. As soon as you speak of Hindu, Sikh or Muslim, you do not speak for India. Each person has to ask himself the question : What do I want to make of India, one country, one nation or 10, 20 or 25 nations, a fragmented and divided nation without any strength or endurance, ready to break to pieces at the slightest shock? Each person has to answer this question. Separateness has always been the weakness of India. Fissiparous tendencies, whether they belong to Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians or others, are very dangerous and wrong tendencies. They belong to petty and backward minds. No one who understands the spirit of the times can think in terms of communalism.

We have big problems in India. We have undertaken a great task and have achieved success to some extent. We are confident of success, but success will come only through toil and hard work and through subordinating our petty interests to the bigger interests of India.

## THE RIGHT APPROACH

IN MY STATEMENT yesterday I explained briefly some of the reasons which were before me in rejecting the demand for a further division of the Punjab in the name of the Punjabi Suba.

This subject, in a sense, has been before us for a number of years. It has been intimately before me, occupying my mind almost daily for the last year or so. I have given to it such thought as I am capable of. I have been consulting my colleagues here in the Central Government, in the Punjab Government and from other parts of India. Therefore, whatever has been done has been done after the closest consultation. A great deal of thought has been given to it not only because of the principles involved but even more because of the possible consequences of a decision.

It is not surprising that there was some excitement in the course of the discussion of this issue in the House. A rather interesting fact emerging from this discussion is that out of 14 hon. Members who spoke on the subject three gave their support to the principle of the formation of a Punjabi Suba. Out of hundreds of hon. Members present here, no Member coming from the Punjab or any neighbouring province or State has supported this demand for a Punjabi Suba. In fact, they have objected to it strongly for various reasons. It is important to note that everyone who is connected with the Punjab or with the Sikhs and has spoken, has given strong support to the policy which the Government have adopted in regard to this matter.

This issue in the Punjab today is a big issue even from the point of view of all India. It is right that we consider every aspect of it and the possible consequences that may flow from any step that we might take. I have welcomed hon. Members who have expressed their disapproval of Government's policy in this matter. But when they say, 'We have accepted the principle of linguistic provinces and applied it in spite of difficulties and trouble in Maharashtra and

Gujarat and even in Nagaland, then why not apply it here ?" they are employing a completely false analogy.

We in the Congress accepted the principle of linguistic provinces 40 years ago for a very good reason. That reason applies today also. We felt that in order to reach the people it was essential for us to function in the language of the people, whether in respect of education or of our public conferences, congresses or other activities. As a result, we attached importance to this language question and, therefore, to linguistic areas. That was the beginning of the linguistic idea.

In 1921, or perhaps 1922, the Andhra Province as a linguistic area was accepted by the Congress. In the Congress constitution, it was made into a separate province. But the difficulty arose some years later because of a dispute about the City of Madras, which both the Tamil area and the Andhra area claimed. It was about that time that Potti Sriramulu started his fast. Just before the fast, an agreement was practically arrived at between the Andhra leaders and the Tamil leaders on the question of Madras. They were working out the details, when this fast was undertaken. Even before the unfortunate, tragic death of Potti Sriramulu the question had been decided. It was not decided because of the fast; in fact, the fast rather came in the way of a decision.

Take this question of Maharashtra and Gujarat to which reference has been made. I want to remind the House that we had drafted a Bill, which said that there should be three States, the Maharashtra State, the Gujarat State and the State of Bombay City. That was our decision. The Bill was actually introduced by the Government. Many Members of this House were not quite happy with it. Almost at the last moment, I got a memorandum signed by, I think, 272 members of this House, including the Gujaratis, the Maharashtrians—at least some of them—and others. In fact, every group in this House, excepting, I think, the Communist Party, signed it. That was a large number. When I got the memorandum, I was put in a quandary because we had already brought forward a Bill. At the same time, I was not very happy with that Bill. And when 272 members of Parliament, belonging to all parties except one, came forward with a proposal to have a composite

State with Gujarat, Maharashtra and Bombay. I welcomed the idea. I thought that it represented the general consensus of the House. I confess it was a false judgment because troubles occurred after that in Gujarat and Maharashtra.

Whatever argument there was about the City of Bombay, the whole of Maharashtra was in favour of being a separate State since it was a homogeneous unit. So also Gujarat was a homogeneous unit. However, Vidarbha or a part of Vidarbha had always put forward a different demand. There was no question of the substantial group in Maharashtra or Gujarat being wholly opposed to the idea.

I have tried to explain this, because it shows there is no comparison at all with the Punjab issue. First of all, the whole of the Punjab, whether in regard to language or whether in regard to the ways of living, is a unity. In the Punjab there are not the differences due to religion or due to language which you find elsewhere in India.

Speaking of language, Punjabi was the language in the Punjab; of course, in Haryana and parts of it, Hindi was the dominant language. No argument ever arose about the spoken language anywhere. It arose recently on the question of script. It must be remembered that all along what was in usage was neither Hindi nor Gurmukhi, but the Persian script. It was the official script, it was the popular script, and it was the script taught in schools. Even today, I believe, the most successful newspapers, both of the Akalis and of the Punjabi Hindus, are in the Urdu language and Urdu script. It is extraordinary that they both hit each other and argue against each other in the Urdu script and in the Urdu language. This is their heritage in the Punjab, but is somewhat forcibly being pulled out of that position. Anyhow, script apart, this language, Punjabi, is the predominant, the most important and the most known language of the Punjab, apart from the Haryana. Indeed it is something more than a dominant language. So far as the Punjabi homes are concerned, every man understands it just as a very large number of people understand Hindi too. The difference between the two is not very great. Really and essentially, Punjabi and Hindi are the common languages there. Punjabi is a home language, which is the real test.

As has been repeatedly said here, it is very difficult in the Punjab to divide the Sikh from the Hindu. There are innumerable families which are half-Hindu and half-Sikh. The Hindus go to *gurdwaras* and revere the Sikh Gurus and the *Guru Granth Sahib*. They are interwoven like the warp and woof of a fabric. What troubles me is that if we separate them, applying the principle of division, we shall be tearing a finely woven tapestry into two bits and spoil it. Such a tearing-up process will have awful consequences. Tearing up an integrated community into two is a terrible thing. With all my desire to be flexible, I find it impossible to adapt myself to this idea.

Those who talk vaguely about the principle of linguistic States in relation to the Punjab simply have no conception of what the Punjab is. It is linguistically as integrated as any part of India, and is also socially integrated, by habit, by custom, and by living. In every way it is an integrated area, with a homogeneous Punjabi population.

The States Reorganization Commission considered this matter of the Punjab. After full discussion and after meeting everybody of importance there, they came to the decision that any breaking up of the present Punjab was undesirable and would be harmful to everyone concerned.

Unfortunately all that has happened in the last few years has put a great strain on that unity among the Punjab people. Both the Akali party and certain Hindu organizations are equally guilty of causing this strain. In the name of language or something else, both have raised slogans and roused passions against each other. This has led to the present demand for the Punjabi Suba on the one side, and an equally emphatic and strong rejection of that demand by the others.

There is no doubt that the question of the Punjabi Suba has grown up not as a linguistic issue but as a communal issue. How any thinking person, whatever his original views might have been, could possibly agree to it now or six months later surprises me, because it cannot just be done. It is inviting absolute disaster to the Punjabi State or the Suba that might be formed. It is inviting trouble all the time. And possibly people may start moving out from one place to another, resulting

in small migrations here and there. Are we going to live through this experience again? A division of the Punjab can only be done peacefully and by widespread agreement among the people concerned. The moment you do it in any other manner you invite trouble and do great injury to the Punjab. It will create conditions and do injuries, economic and others, which will go deep down to the heart of various communities, and which will take a mighty long time to heal. These are serious consequences.

At the time the regional formula was passed, and after, Master Tara Singh and the leaders of the Akalis, said quite clearly, "No more Punjabi Suba". Master Tara Singh wrote and he told us publicly, "No more Punjabi Suba; we are satisfied." Within two or three months of that came opposition and disagreement. I was amazed and astonished, because I had gone all out and tried to bring about a settlement. And as a part of the settlement, it had been decided that the Akali Party would give up its political aspect and it actually amended its constitution.

The regional formula, in so far as language was concerned, gave everything that one could conceive of. It identified a Punjabi region and a Hindi region. A large number of subjects were allotted to the regional committees to deal with. The persons who formed the regional committees were members of the Punjab legislature coming from that region. So the Punjab legislature became two committees. The subjects given to the regional committees were quite substantial. I think they numbered 14. A large number of subjects, specially dealing with languages and other things, were given to them.

It had been decided that in the Punjabi region the primary language would be Punjabi and the secondary language would be Hindi; in the Hindi region the primary language would be Hindi and the secondary language Punjabi.

There was some delay in implementing the scheme but after two or three years, the scheme started functioning properly.

From the language point of view, there was no further question left out. It had been decided that in the Punjabi



region, Punjabi should be used for administrative purposes up to the district level, and in the Hindi region, Hindi should be used up to that level. That is being done. Educationally, and from the point of view of administration at the lower level and progressively at the higher levels, all this was done. Every State employee in the Punjab Government, I believe, has to learn both Punjabi and Hindi, because he may have to deal with papers in both.

I should like to know if and where any obstruction has come to the promotion of the Punjabi language. Apart from the allocation of subjects to be dealt with by the regional committees, many other things have been done. For instance, a Punjabi University is being started.

People talk about functioning in Punjabi. That is exactly what is happening. No question of Punjabi arises in the Punjabi region which presumably should become the Punjabi Suba. It has full command over the language. Punjabi is the primary language, and Hindi is the secondary language there; in the Hindi area, Punjabi is secondary, and everybody has to learn it, while Hindi is the primary language. The result is that vast numbers of people outside the Punjabi area have to learn Punjabi today. The influence and the spread of Punjabi is much greater now than at any time. Punjabi has made more progress in the last eight or ten years than in the last hundred years. Indeed it will suffer under the Punjabi Suba. It will suffer, taking the whole of the Punjab into consideration, although it may flourish in the Punjabi region alone. Even so, it would not flourish more than it is flourishing today.

The point I wish to impress upon this House is that no linguistic principle comes up in this issue. What is it, then? Obviously, as some Members have pointed out, it is a communal question.

One thing is worth bearing in mind. Since the partition, as everyone knows, large numbers of people came from Pakistan to India and went from India to Pakistan. A large number of Punjabis came from Pakistan and a good number of these people—I am told they run into lakhs—have been settled in the Hindi-speaking area of our Punjab, resulting in a new integration. These Punjabi-speaking people, mostly

Hindus who are settled in the Hindi-speaking area, are naturally picking up Hindi. That does not mean that Punjabi ceases to be their language. Unfortunately, an agitation was carried on before the last general elections among these people to declare in the Census that their language was Hindi and not Punjabi although they spoke Punjabi in their homes. I do not know what was the purpose of it, but it was not a truthful statement and it did a lot of harm. It increased friction and these tendencies for separation. Behind all this is power politics and lack of faith between Sikhs and Hindus.

Looking at this problem whether on the ground of principle or practical application and considering the dangerous consequences of any step being taken for the whole of India, not to speak of the Punjab, the policy that the Government have followed is the right policy. I hope it will be clearly understood by everybody outside this House that the policy which the Government are pursuing is not only a firm policy but a right policy, and any marked deviation from it would be very injurious to the country.

## NATIONAL INTEGRATION

WE VENTURED TO ask you to come here to consider this question of national integration. Why did we do so? Not because some sudden catastrophe was overhanging us, not because, speaking for myself, I thought that our country was on the verge of disintegration and that it should be pulled together, but because we thought that at this moment in our history we should lay some stress on this problem and turn the people's minds in a particular direction. I find from the many letters or papers that have been sent to us that there are two viewpoints, both rather extreme. One is that we are face to face with some immediate peril. The other is, 'Why shout about this? Nothing much is happening.'

From speech at the opening session of the National Integration Conference, New Delhi, September 28, 1961

But as we all know, we are facing grave difficulties. Some of these difficulties are inherited from the past, but others are the result of the very progress which we are making. Therefore I am not disheartened by them.

It is not with any fear of coming peril that I see India. I view this question as a challenge to us, because we in India, as in the rest of the world too, are passing through a period of the greatest transformation in history. It is not surprising that in the course of this transformation things happen which are not always to our liking. So I do not look upon these matters, annoying and irritating as they are, as things which are frightening. They have to occur and, in fact, the way they are occurring is an indication that we are marching ahead and that all the suppressed urges in us are coming up and we are fighting the evils which come in our way.

What these evils are is fairly well known: they are, broadly speaking, communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguism. We may simply call them the various things that narrow us. It is bad enough to be narrow-minded ever, but it is worse today to be narrow-minded when there is a tendency for the whole world to shrink, and it is obvious that all these things come very much in our way when we are trying to change India economically, socially and otherwise.

Many people who have sent opinions and some of these Committees on Integration which have met have indicated that one of the main remedies for these ills is social and economic advance. That is true fundamentally, because these are the symbols of what we suffer from, namely social and economic backwardness. The more we remove this backwardness, the more we get over these difficulties.

The question of integration covers in a sense almost everything in life. Above all it covers education, which means the training of the individual from childhood up.

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THIS CONFERENCE HAS in some ways been a unique gathering, not only in the kind of people who are represented here from various ways of thinking and from the various parties, but more so in the general approach to the problems before us. We have seen how in spite of differences we can work together for a common purpose and achieve certain results.

I repeat what I said in the beginning. We did not meet because we thought some great and imminent danger of disintegration or disruption was facing us. But certainly keeping ourselves wide awake, we were worried and unhappy at certain tendencies which we saw sometimes breaking out and creating trouble. Essentially, however, I have not a shadow of doubt that whether politically or otherwise the Republic of India stands on firm foundations and we need not imagine that even the wrong tendencies which we see are going to undermine it in any way. In spite of our failings, weaknesses and difficulties, India is a stable country going ahead, and it can compare very favourably with any other country.

All the same, the fact also remains that the problems before us are undoubtedly of a giant stature. I have no doubt that the people have the capacity to solve them and that they will solve them, not suddenly but in due course. How do we, in this conference or outside, face this problem? It involves an attitude of mind. Essentially, these big problems have to be approached, logically, reasonably and as a matter of faith. Faith in whom? Faith in ourselves, in our people and in our capacity to work together and to solve big problems together even though we may argue and shout at each other from time to time.

Therefore, this conference has essentially been an act of faith for all of us, and because of that, I feel it has meant much more than any ordinary political or other group arriving at decisions. Behind the decisions we have taken is the manifestation of this faith in India, in the people of India and in ourselves.

## A NEW PHASE IN NATION'S LIFE

THE CHINESE INVASION of India has begun a new phase in our nation's life. This is a turning point in our history. One chapter has ended, and a new chapter has begun. Long before historians write about it, we shall have to write this chapter with our deeds of courage and valour.

In our youth we fought for India's freedom. Hundreds of thousands of Indians were involved in the fight. Many of you perhaps have not experienced what it means to fight for your freedom. It was a unique experience, which is imprinted for ever on our minds and hearts. The nation's interest was paramount with us, and we worked in its service with a lover's zeal, not caring for what happened to us. Such an experience, though full of turmoils and hardships, is good for a nation.

Today, again, we are faced with many problems. Some of these are difficult problems. We shall solve these problems. But I have been feeling that something is lacking in us. We think too much in terms of communalism, casteism and provincialism. These things weaken and divide us. We must rid ourselves of these evils. We must broaden our minds and think of ourselves always as a united people.

Gandhiji revitalized the nation in its struggle for freedom. The way he transformed millions of our people was something of a miracle. I feel the need of some such experience which will recast the whole nation and infuse into it a new determination and will.

We have to pay a price for preserving and maintaining our freedom. Do not think that freedom once won has come to stay. We have to go on paying the price all the time to keep it. A little negligence or carelessness can imperil our freedom. It has happened many times in our history.

The Chinese action is nothing short of an invasion of India. In some ways it may be a blessing in disguise. It has shaken our people out of their slumber and awakened them to realities. We become strong only when we unite as a nation

From speech in Hindi at the inauguration of the Students' Union at the University of Delhi, October 29, 1962

and work together for a great cause. So, I feel that we may gain from this experience.

This is certainly a time of trial for each one of us. Everybody will have to work hard and produce more in order to strengthen the nation. We have to make every effort to increase our production in the farms, in the factories and in whatever fields we are working. Only then will we succeed in the great task that is before us.

We should be firm in our resolve, and we should steel our will to defend every inch of our territory. No nation can tolerate an attack on its dignity. We are an independent nation, and we stand firm and erect in our independence. Each one of us will have to pay the price for preserving this independence.

This challenge has come to us perhaps to pull us out of the soft and slow ways into which we had fallen and to make us strong and alert.

The first thing which we have to learn from this challenge is to put an end to all those tendencies which divide us. Internal dissensions or disputes, whether they are between one region and another or between one language and another, have no place whatsoever in the circumstances of today. The national crisis demands that we should leave such things aside and think about the bigger and more important issues which face us. Therefore, I lay the greatest emphasis on the essential unity of India. We should work for the nation's progress and preserve its unity. Once the feeling of strength and unity is there, our task is easy to accomplish.

I want you to realize that, without our wanting it, the country has been drawn into this struggle. We should keep in view the basic issues involved in it. For thousands of years, this country has made us what we are today. We love this country of ours. We believe that this country has a message not only for us but also for the world. It seems to me that thousands of years of our history is today watching what we are doing and what we are going to do. Our strength and our greatness are on trial. We have to prove that we have courage and that we love this country and that we are prepared to do everything to preserve its honour.

## THE STRONG AND SERENE FACE OF INDIA

I HAVE PUT forward a long resolution before this House, and it is clear from the speeches made that the resolution is welcome to this House and will be accepted as it is.

I have almost felt that it would have been suitable to add a small paragraph to the resolution thanking the Chinese Government for taking this action against us which has suddenly lifted a veil from the face of India. During the last three weeks or a little more, we have had a glimpse of the strong and serene face of India, strong and yet calm and determined, that ancient face which is ever young and vibrant. This House has seen a million faces representing that face of India or Bharat Mata.

This has been an experience worth having for all of us and it has been our high privilege to share in that emotion and experience. Whatever the future may bring, I do not think we shall ever forget this powerful emotional upheaval that India has had in which we have all shared, whatever party or group we may belong to. Any person who gives thought to these matters will realize—and I hope other countries, especially the Chinese Government, will realise—what this signifies. It seems to me obvious that no country which evokes that kind of feeling in a moment of crisis can ever be suppressed or defeated. In fact, many countries of the West—and I hope many countries of the East also—realize that today. They are surprised that such an amazing upheaval should have taken place in our feelings, that all our petty controversies which seemed so big to us have suddenly become of no moment and are swept aside by the one thing before us, namely how to meet this crisis and emergency, how to face this invasion and to repel it.

We may have failed here and there. We might not have been quite prepared to meet this invasion. Our mentality may be built towards peace. Although we had prepared for any such emergency, it is true that the mind of the people and of the Government sought peace all the time. I am not sorry

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From speech in Lok Sabha during debate on the resolution on Chinese aggression, November 14, 1962

for that. I think it was a right urge and it is that right urge that has led to this enormous upheaval in the Indian mind.

### STRENGTH THROUGH CRISIS

SOME PEOPLE THOUGHT that because we are going through a national crisis, I might find it difficult to come here this year. But the very reason of the national crisis induced me all the more to wish to come here. For it gives one who is going through an unceasing round of routine duties an occasion to pull oneself together to look at the crisis itself in some perspective. Therefore I attach particular importance to coming here in these days of crisis.

We have to face this crisis. The people, men and women, from the aged to the very young, in every part of the country responded to it in a wonderful and magnificent measure. And that has shown us something which perhaps it is almost worth having a crisis to see and to feel, namely the abiding unity of our country despite superficial differences. The question is asked as to what we are to do in this crisis, and no doubt people will gradually find out what to do.

I should like to say a few words about our mental approach to it, and this university has a great deal to do with that approach. In a crisis like this, which involves war, the people who are trained militarily, namely our defence services, play an important role. But let us remember that that role is like an iceberg which shows only a part above the water. A great deal lies underneath. So is the case with the purely military effort of a nation to meet the crisis. It is important, but the real thing which supports that military effort is the tremendous team beneath it in which every person in the country has to take part. It is the agricultural and industrial effort, and the effort and work of every citizen in the country. Below that again stands the morale and the



spirit of the country. We may say with assurance that this country has shown that morale. It is because of that that we can speak with confidence about what is going to happen to this ancient country of ours even in this crisis, and about the other things which will follow.

People of my generation went through certain experiences in our struggle for freedom. We have had great leaders like Gandhiji, and great preceptors like Gurudev. We were powerfully influenced by them and in our struggle we succeeded in achieving something which is not normally achieved in such struggles. We succeeded, as a whole, in not growing too bitter and in keeping our poise. We achieved freedom with an astonishing lack of ill-will even to those against whom we had struggled. Perhaps that was due to the great leaders we had who turned our attention in a different direction; perhaps it was due to a certain spirit of India which rose to uphold us and guide us. So tens and millions in India were conditioned by the experience of the struggle which strengthened us and which brought us freedom. It impressed the world.

But let us remember that freedom is not a thing to be achieved once which will subsist forever without striving. Freedom has to be achieved in almost every generation. If people grow weak and are not capable of holding it, it slips away from them.

Therefore, it is perhaps a good thing that in the present generation another assault has been made on our freedom to condition us and to pull us out of the wrong ways we may have fallen into, the way of softness, of forgetting the principles which governed us, and which have so often been repeated by Gandhiji and Gurudev. It is more particularly necessary in this institution that you should remember those principles. It is very important that in this time of crisis we should do our best to serve the country, and our minds are directed to the right way of doing it.

Unfortunately in the world today, fear and hatred affect people more perhaps than any other emotions. In our own struggle for freedom, in a certain measure we did away with fear and hatred. That was a remarkable feature. Can we do that now? Or will we become victims of fear and hatred and

their numerous ill-begotten progeny? This is an important question.

A special duty falls on the universities. In the universities the teacher and the taught come together to think of the basic, directive principles in life, and to take counsel with ancient wisdom and modern experience. It is more specially so in the Visva-Bharati which has an abundance of wisdom not only of the distant past but of Gurudev. The Visva-Bharati is supposed to be an international university, which rightly honours nationalism but would not lose itself in an exaggerated form of nationalism forgetting the rest of the world. In the Visva-Bharati it becomes therefore doubly necessary that while doing their duty the teacher and the taught do not allow themselves to become repositories of bitterness and hatred which will do no good to them or to their country. It is of high importance for the Visva-Bharati as also for other universities to remember this aspect.

The first essential is to do our job at this moment of crisis, to prepare the people and to develop the strength and courage to protect the country. Our people have shown that courage. They will no doubt show that courage whenever it is demanded. The second essential is that, while performing the duty of protecting the country, we should keep in mind the principles which form the basis of Indian culture.

In the Visva-Bharati, for instance, you have got the various departments. You have got the Cheena Bhavan, under a distinguished Chinese scholar. That is a good thing to remind you always that you are not at war with China's culture or the greatness of China in the past or in the present. You have no bitter feelings against the Chinese people as such. You are against a certain manifestation of the Chinese Government. You are against a certain deed which the Chinese Government has done, which is very wrong and which is in the nature of a war of the old imperialist type. Therefore, we have to resist that, and resist we will with all our might. But if you think that China as a country or the hundreds of millions of her people are our enemies, let me tell you they are not. The Government of China and certain people of China have attacked us and tried to do us injury.

We shall resist them. We shall drive them away. We fought British imperialism which exploited us and had dominion over us, and we drove it out. But we tried not to feel ill-will for an average Englishman. We imbibed English literature, we learnt the language, and we profit by it still. We learnt the sciences and so on. So we must distinguish an evil and not spread it out to cover a whole country. If imperialism is an evil we shall fight it. If racialism is an evil we shall fight it. If a person or a country attacks us we shall fight, but it will be wrong and is opposed to our principles to hate a whole people or a country which is attacking us through its Government and its armed forces.

That is why I am glad that you have got here a symbol of international co-operation, of co-operation between India and China in the Cheena Bhavan. While we fight the aggressor, we do not fight culture and we do not fight people who are friendly to us. We have no quarrel with a people. We will have quarrels with those who attack us and we will resist them. I hope this will be borne in mind because sometimes I see a drift the other way. It turns our minds in the wrong direction. The problem is how we can be strong individually, as a group and as a nation without indulging in hatred. We have to build ourselves to have strength and lasting energy which is not exhausted by any particular action that we may take.

I hope that all of you who have qualified have also qualified yourselves in the basic principles on which the Visva-Bharati was founded by Gurudev, because those are the basic principles of India's culture. The mind of the race held them. India has continued all these years because of those basic principles and I believe India will be important in future also because of those principles. It is for the Visva-Bharati and such institutions to preserve them, and train people and, in a crisis of this kind, to affirm those basic principles by which we have stood. This will give us the strength not only to survive the crisis but to gain strength by it.

## INTEGRATION OF GOA

### AN AUGURY

I HAVE TO propose a very small amendment to the Constitution. Small as it is, it is a particularly significant one, and I hope and believe that it is the forerunner of other amendments of this kind. As the House knows, the amendment deals with the integration into the Indian Union of the territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

The history of this little enclave is known to the House. Hon. Members are aware of how a number of courageous persons of Nagar Haveli and Dadra many years ago drove out the Portuguese garrison and officials, and established a free territory. We were in complete sympathy with them, and they with us. As was shown in the recent case in The Hague Court, it was an act of the people of Nagar Haveli and Dadra and not of the Government of India. The people having established a free territory, we had no intention of allowing the Portuguese to go through Indian territory for suppressing them. They have thus remained free.

The Portuguese claim for a right of passage to these territories was argued for several years in the International Court of Justice. We could not therefore take certain steps which we might otherwise have taken in regard to the territories or even in regard to Goa. Although the ultimate decision was not one hundred per cent as we would have liked it to be, the decision made it quite clear that the basic attitude we had taken up was correct in regard to these territories. It followed from that that we could go ahead and incorporate them into the Indian Union, which had been the repeated desire of the people of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The Varishtha Panchayat passed a resolution to that effect, and some time after The Hague Court decision, we came to the

Statement in Lok Sabha while introducing the Constitution Tenth Amendment Bill, August 14, 1961

conclusion that we should give effect to the request of the Panchayat. The request itself was recently reiterated unanimously. It is as a consequence that we have brought forward this Constitution (Tenth Amendment) Bill, as also a connected Bill in regard to the representation for Dadra and Nagar Haveli in this House.

We have treated them as Union Territories deliberately because we do not want to split them up or put them in either the State of Gujarat or the State of Maharashtra. First of all, we are giving effect to the wish of the people there in this respect. Their wish was that we should treat them as a unit. I do not know about the distant future, but they will in the near future continue to be treated as Union Territories.

There are suggestions in some of the proposed amendments that we should have added Goa, Daman and Diu in the Bill. These amendments represent the laudable wishes of some hon. Members, but they do not represent facts. We say that from the 11th August these territories will form part of the Indian Union. But it cannot be so in respect of the other territories, because they do not form part of the Indian Union. It is our wish and our desire, which I have no doubt will be fulfilled, that these other territories should come into the Indian Union. The coming in of Dadra and Nagar Haveli is a happy augury and a presage of the future.

This Bill which I am presenting to the House for its consideration is a simple one, and I have no doubt every Member of the House will accept it as it is. It represents, for the first time, the removal of a part of the Portuguese Empire in India. It is a sign of the future to come.

## WE WAITED FOR 14 YEARS

SOME TIME AGO, a seminar on Portuguese colonialism was held in Delhi. It was not officially sponsored, but we took part in it, and many important leaders of African parties and African groups came here. We welcomed the opportunity of meeting them and having discussions with them. Apart from the importance of Goa and its freedom to us, during the seminar it came out that in the eyes of the African leaders, and especially of those struggling against Portuguese colonialism in Africa, Goa was playing an important part. They attach much importance to Goa and what happens in Goa.

The House knows that for about fourteen years now we have shown what can only be called exemplary restraint. Taking everything into consideration, we carried on with that policy, feeling always that Goa must necessarily come to India. It was better if it came peacefully, even though it took a year or two longer. It has taken fourteen years, and so far as we know, there has been no change of heart on the part of the Portuguese.

Recently, there have occurred a number of incidents. Each taken by itself is not big, but cumulatively they appeared as if they were direct challenges thrown at India in an aggressive and insulting way. There have been cases of firing across the sea twice at Indian merchant men, passenger boats, and fishermen. These boats had been going up and down and the fishermen have been fishing for years. Why should they be suddenly attacked? Then, there has been firing recently when some Portuguese crossed the Savantwadi border.

Internally in Goa, according to our information, there has been intense repression recently and very bad treatment of the persons in prison. Altogether conditions in Goa have been even worse than previously. Also reports appear in the press about Portuguese armed forces being reinforced and Portuguese gunboats and the like coming into the Goan waters. A situation is being created which becomes progressively intolerable for us to submit to or to accept.

We came to the conclusion that we must take steps to prevent this kind of thing continuing. We cannot possibly accept the fact of the seas being almost denied to our shipping and to our fishermen. We must see that the waters are cleared.

Since we had to be ready to meet any developments, we decided to strengthen our armed forces around Goa. This has been and is being done. I cannot say what precise steps may be taken because that will depend upon circumstances. But I can say that we have been preparing for any contingency that might arise.

Because of this, various people and countries which had been long asleep about the problem, thinking that it did not matter, are suddenly waking up, and references are being made to their good offices to find some kind of a solution. I do not know what solution is envisaged.

In the course of the past few years, we have repeatedly drawn the attention of the other countries to the situation in Goa, and to the absurdity and anomaly of Goa existing as an outpost of a foreign imperialism on our territory. We have said we could not possibly continue to tolerate it. We have referred to the fact that Portugal is a member of the NATO alliance and has undoubtedly profited because of that, and apart from profiting in regard to arms etc., morally it has been strengthened by it. But this has produced little result. In fact, many things have happened, unconnected with India, that have boosted the morale of the Portuguese rulers.

Recently, other developments have taken place internally in Portugal, which show that even the people of Portugal, long suffering as they have been, are getting a little tired of the present conditions there. There was the famous incident of the big ship SANTA MARIA which rebelled on the high seas.

As the House knows, we have always been exceedingly reluctant to solve problems by application of force. We have been so not from a pacifist point of view but from the point of view of our whole approach to world problems. But I must say that the Portuguese attitude to the Goa problem has been exasperating in the extreme. It has been difficult for us to restrain our feelings. We have felt that we should be perfectly



*Delivering the first of the Azad Memorial Lectures, 'India Today and Tomorrow', New Delhi, February 1959*

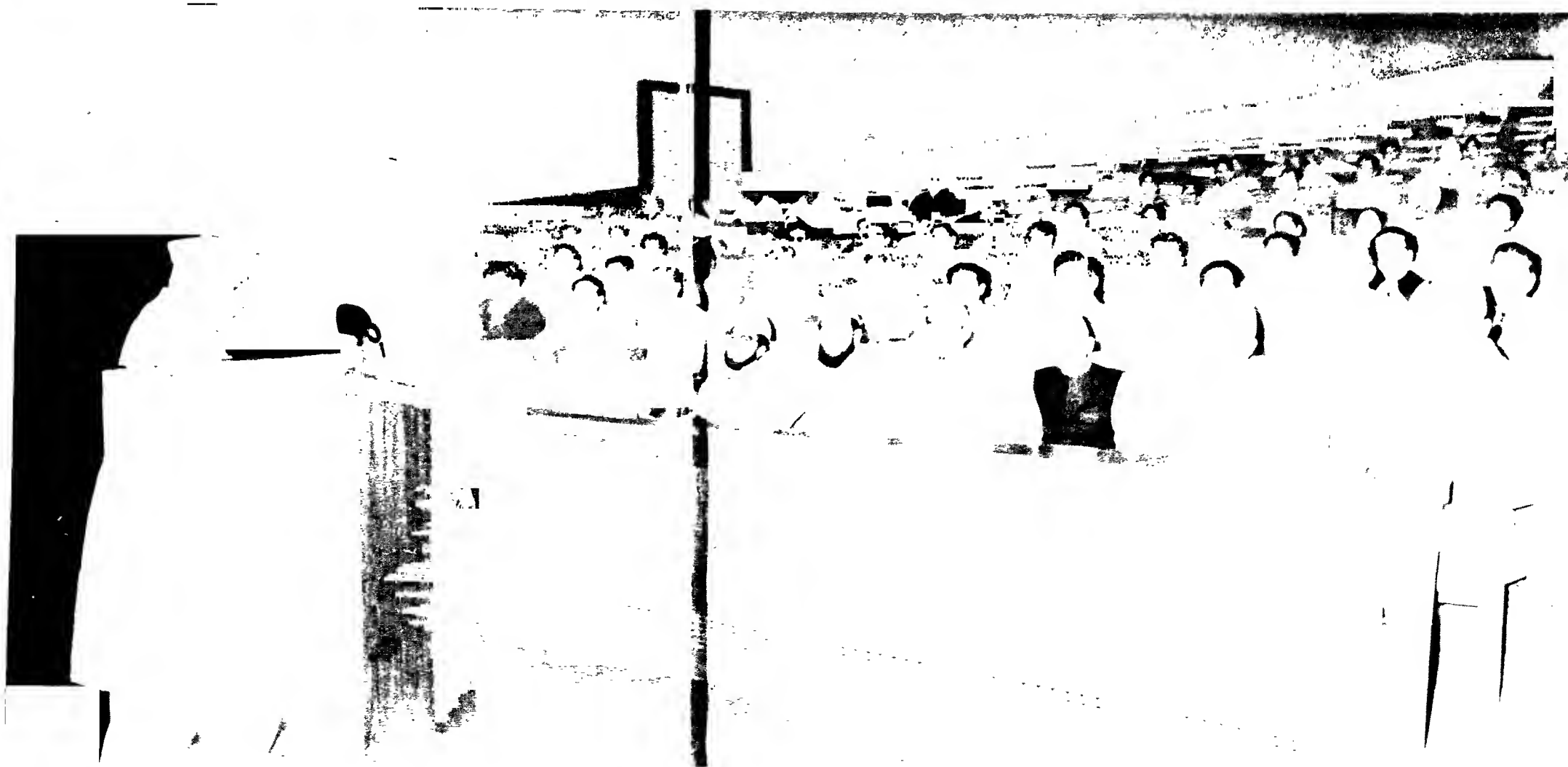
*Inaugurating the Students' Union at the University of Delhi, October 1962*



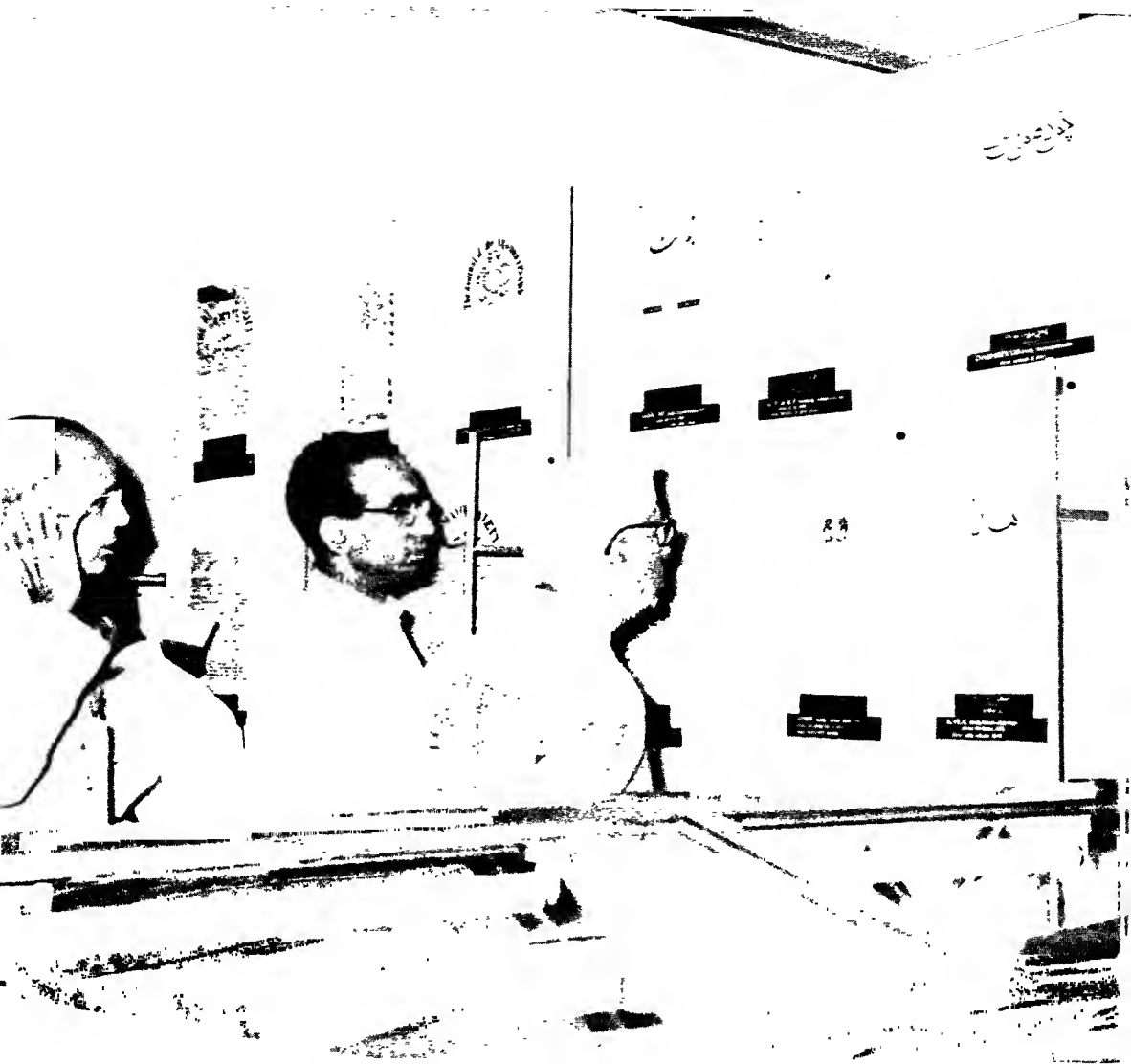




*Addressing the National Integration Conference,  
New Delhi, September 1961*



*Inaugurating an  
exhibition of Urdu  
newspapers and  
books, New Delhi,  
October 1961*



*At the exhibition of Urdu newspapers and books*

prepared for any developments and the consequences. We have taken some steps to that end.

I cannot say at the moment what exactly will happen because that depends on developments. But the present position is not to be tolerated. And as for friends who now wake up and make suggestions offering their good offices, we welcome good offices. But I should like to make it clear that there can obviously be no solution of the Goa problem except for the Portuguese Government walking out of Goa.

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GOA is a small place, and compared to the strength of India it does not count much as a problem. But even a small problem has its many aspects, which make it bigger. Therefore preparations have to be made to meet any contingency that arises. In Goa itself, the Portuguese have largely added to their armed forces, have brought some ships along and, I believe, got some aircraft. What is really extraordinary is their functioning—deliberately or for some other reasons—in a most provocative way as if they wanted us to take steps against them.

I may point out a fairly recent instance which was partly reported in the press. There is a place called Terekhol on the Goan side of the border, a mile and a half away. On 7th December, some Portuguese soldiers came there and turned the people out of their houses, presumably because they wanted to occupy them, themselves being near the border. These poor people, about 150 in number, were just turned out. They expressed a wish to come to India. They sent word to the villagers on our side of the border—it is only half a mile this side—asking them if they could come over. The villagers said, 'Yes, certainly. We welcome you.' Learning of this move, some Portuguese soldiers, who had established themselves at the place, actually crossed our border, started firing right and left and exploded bombs. Some of our police guards fired back and wounded one of the Portuguese soldiers who then retired in a hurry. On the 9th-10th night, the Portuguese

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From reply to debate in Rajya Sabha, December 11, 1961

soldiers came back and arrested all the villagers of Terekhol. What is more, they again crossed our border and started firing with machine-guns. I presume they did this to make a noise and generally to frighten the people--both the Terekhol villagers for having thought of coming over to India and our people for having agreed to receive them. I gather that again last night--or early this morning-- there was some firing by the Portuguese at a check-post of ours nearby. All this has not resulted in any heavy casualties, but it has created some excitement. The position is becoming more and more aggravated.

I might mention to the House that, according to our information, the Overseas Minister of the Portuguese Government came to Goa yesterday and, apparently under pressure of events, has been going about making promises of some kind of autonomy for Goa. At no time previously had they thought of it. I believe the phrase used is 'frozen autonomy'. I do not understand what that means. Whatever it may mean, it seems to be very frozen indeed. It is obvious that the time has gone by for this kind of vague talk and nobody can possibly put trust in it. It is meant possibly to influence the people of Goa, because they have been growing more and more distressed and unhappy about the conditions and have been hoping that the Portuguese would depart. The only thing that really will go towards a solution of this problem is for the Portuguese administration itself to depart.

It is not a question of imposing ourselves on the people of Goa. It is the wish of the people of Goa that should remain uppermost. Quite apart from that, we have always said that there should be no foreign outposts in any corner of India, because that brings all kinds of complications and dangers to us. We cannot tolerate the present position. Therefore, Portuguese domination cannot, in our opinion, continue there anyhow. For the rest, it is for the people of Goa and our Government and others to consider what steps should be taken for the future.

There is an extraordinary fact at the present moment to which I may draw the attention of hon. Members. If one is to go by the newspapers in Pakistan, they are supporting

both Portugal and China as against India. It is an extraordinary thing that a country like Pakistan, tied up with all kinds of military alliances, presumably against China, should support China when the question of India comes up. On the other hand, Pakistan and other countries have openly and stoutly declared that they are against colonialism and imperialism. Yet Pakistan supports Portugal and calls India an imperialist power trying to impose her will on Portugal — maybe on China too! It shows how there is only one base for Pakistan's policy. That base is hatred of India. Everything else is secondary. Everything which she thinks will help her propaganda against India is accepted by her regardless of her other policies. This kind of attitude has no basis in policy or principle. All these things have therefore to be kept in mind. We are taking steps to be ready for emergencies, and unless the situation improves out of recognition, I fear that we shall have to give effect to the step that we have had in mind.

Dr. Kunzru asked me about some reference of mine to mediation on Goa. I want to make it perfectly clear that there has been no such offer, and I do not myself see how such an offer could be helpful except in the sense that the Portuguese Government could be induced to vacate Goa.

## BACKGROUND TO THE LIBERATION

NOTHING HAS HAPPENED in India since independence, fourteen and half years ago, which has excited and thrilled the people of India so much as this liberation of Goa.

It has roused tremendous reactions in the whole of India and in Goa. In Goa this event has been hailed by the people, not by the Hindus only, but by the Christians, including the Catholics. You may have seen in the press what the leading dignitary of the Catholic Church in India, the Archbishop of Bombay, who is himself a Goan and a Cardinal of the Roman Church, has said. He has welcomed the liberation. I have

had telegrams from Catholic Bishops in Goa welcoming it. Practically the whole of Africa has rejoiced at this action. Nearly all the countries in Asia have rejoiced, too.

As against this solid mass of opinion in India, as well as in Asia and Africa, there are some countries in the West condemning us. Their attitude really is a matter for careful, almost psychological study. Yesterday I was reading an article in a New York newspaper of repute in which it is suggested calmly and in polite language that India should be driven out of Goa and Goa should be restored to the Portuguese. Think of what it means. It is casually mentioned that a colonial power should be, presumably by force, placed there! If an attempt was made, what would happen in India and in the world? Really my head reeled when I read it. If this kind of thing emerges out of their thinking, it is not surprising that their actions are quite often very wrong.

In the last 14 or 15 years while we talked about Goa, nobody attached much importance to it. In fact, Portugal was patted on the back repeatedly by some of the great powers, and in a sense encouraged. The NATO alliance itself--though it had nothing to do with Goa--encouraged Portugal in its intransigent attitude.

I did not want to take this action. I was compelled by circumstance to take it. Every step became inevitable, and refusal to take that step seemed to me to lead to graver consequences, even in terms of peace and war. If we had not taken this action, there would have been absolute chaos in Goa. There would have been terrible repression of the people and we would have had to face an amazing situation. We might have had to shoot down our own people in trying to force our hands or see them being shot down by the Portuguese.

The Portuguese administration had really cracked up even before we went there. The whole operation there took about 26 hours. It would have taken half that time but for the fact that the roads were mined and vehicles could not move. Of course, there was practically no resistance. Not that the Government there did not want to resist. Their orders were to resist, but there was no mind to resist.

It might be useful to give you the background leading to our action.

First of all, at no time in all these years had we forgotten Goa. It was constantly pricking our mind and our conscience. It came to a head in 1955, when there were shootings of our people 'on the Goan border'. Although things relatively quieted down afterwards, the trouble was there all the time.

The whole background in regard to Portuguese colonialism has been changing in the last two or three years, resulting in the resolutions in the United Nations. These resolutions, expressing the strong feelings of those who voted for them, were passed almost unanimously.

First of all, in December last year, there was a resolution in the United Nations on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. A week later, on 21st December, the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution specially in regard to Portugal and Portuguese colonies, and Goa was specially mentioned in it. The resolution referred to these as "colonies" and not as bits of Portugal and demanded information on them which Portugal refused to give.

On November 14 this year, there was again a General Assembly resolution condemning the continuing non-compliance by the Government of Portugal with its obligation under Chapter XI of the Charter and in terms of the General Assembly resolution passed a year before. A special committee of seven members was appointed as a matter of urgency to get such information as was available about the Portuguese territories.

On 28th November, the General Assembly stated that the delay in supplying the information by Portugal was a source of international conflict and disharmony, that it seriously impeded international co-operation and that it was creating an increasingly dangerous situation in many parts of the world which might threaten international peace and security.

Meanwhile, apart from this, the situation had aggravated in Angola and it had caused us a very great deal of concern. What happened in Angola pained us tremendously and in our minds, for the first time Goa and Angola were in a sense

vaguely tied up together. Constantly we were thinking of Angola and then we referred back to Goa in our minds. The question of Goa became riper and riper because of the resolutions of the General Assembly and because of the fact that in spite of those resolutions, the Portuguese refused to take any action. And we were affected by what was happening in Angola.

In the seminar held here on Portuguese colonialism, the whole tenor of the speeches made by a number of eminent African leaders was that of tying up Goa with Angola. The problems became more and more allied in our thinking. We were keyed up. Yet we were not thinking of this action then. We were in a receptive mood.

Then some incidents happened, the shooting at one of our merchant ships from Anjadev, the shooting at fishermen, etc. In the context of things when we were keyed up, these incidents had a powerful effect.

The problem arose before us, for the first time, that we must keep our seaways clear, because our ships were passing that way frequently. Were we going to let the Portuguese have pot-shots at us? It was an intolerable situation. The next step in our thought was what would happen on the mainland.

The Portuguese went about having petty excursions into Indian territory, trying to frighten our villagers and shooting at our guards. When this happened, in that background again, we thought that we must protect not only our border but put a stop to this kind of thing. We now saw the issues as one whole.

So step by step we came to the conclusion that we must be prepared for every action. Yet we hesitated slightly as to when we should take the action and what the nature of it should be. But we wanted to be prepared for it, not quite knowing what might happen. So we ordered our forces to be sent there.

Then a number of things took place. Even when our forces were there, the petty Portuguese excursions went on. Dr. Salazar publicly announced that he would blow up the whole of Goa and leave it in ruins. Stories came to us not only of repression in Goa but of the Portuguese Government



cracking up and anti-social elements slowly beginning to take advantage of the situation. We saw that if that went on, there would be chaos in Goa and the Portuguese authorities might blow up most of the important institutes, buildings etc. So we were led to decide that we must intervene.

We sent several communications to the Portuguese Government through the Embassy of the United Arab Republic. The first was on 4th December, about the shooting at S. S. SABARMATH and a country craft. On 11th December, another communication was sent about aggression of Portuguese soldiers on the Indian territory and firing by them. On 15th December, yet another Note was sent. I would quote a sentence or two from this Note. We said, "The Government believe that it is never too late to take the right step and hope that in accordance with the immutable principles of humanity and the irreversible processes of history, the Government of Portugal will leave their Indian colonies forthwith and remove their persistent irritant against international peace. The people of India are determined to ensure that their independence is complete and that there are no longer any vestiges of colonial rule on their territory." In this Note, a quotation was given from a speech which I had delivered in the Rajya Sabha (while initiating the debate on Foreign Affairs) on 11th December, which said: "Our patience is certainly exhausted. We still hope that either the Portuguese by themselves or by the advice of their friends, will desist from what they are doing and accept the natural culmination of all this, which is their withdrawal from Goa. We can discuss the legalities and modalities later on but the physical handing over should be done."

We further informed Portugal that the Government of India had repeatedly stated that when the colonial regime was ended and Goa joined the Indian Union, Goa would retain its identity and would also retain its cultural individuality as regards religion, language, customs etc. All these communications were sent through the U.A.R. Government, copies being sent to the Brazilian Embassy which represents Portugal's interests here.

The Portuguese Government made its reference to the Security Council, I think, on 8th December. It made two or

three references. I think we sent three messages to the President of the Security Council in reply to these, as well as giving other facts.

The only countries we kept in touch with about these matters were the United States of America and the United Kingdom, because they are friends of Portugal. We thought they might be able to help. There was not a word between us and the Soviet Union on the subject or with any other country except that at a later date we kept some of our Asian and African friends informed of the developments. The matter was coming to a head almost by its own impetus, and we had to think of taking action. It was difficult to remain on tiptoe all the time.

In the meantime whenever any little thing happened, tempers rose. In our minds we began to think of a date. Dates in such matters are seldom fixed by the Government, because the essence of a date is that it should not be known. All that the Government does is to intimate to the military and other persons in charge a probable period, and it is for them to fix a date and take action. In this sense we did inform our defence authorities of a probable date.

Then an approach to us came from some Latin American countries. The approach was rather vague. Nevertheless, immediately we postponed the date. We thought if there was anything which could be done we would be very happy. But soon after, a day or two later, we were told that the Latin American approach could not take us anywhere.

On 14th December, we had a proposal from the U.S. Government. It asked us whether we would be agreeable to the Americans taking an initiative in the matter and suggesting to Portugal that they should quit Goa on the understanding that the Government of India would be prepared to take a generous view of Portugal's economic and cultural institutions in Goa. Our answer was that we would be very happy if the U.S. Government could take the initiative and that, so far as the Government of India was concerned, it had always taken a generous view on economic and cultural matters. We referred to what we had already done in regard to the British and the French when they left India. We added, however,

that the situation was getting rather desperate and any initiative of this kind must be taken quickly.

This was after we had postponed the matter once. On this enquiry from the U.S. Government, we now made a second postponement, because if there was the slightest chance, we wanted to take advantage of it. But a day or two later we were informed by the U.S. Government authorities that the Portuguese response to the American initiative had been a negative one. They did not accept the suggestion put forward by the U.S. Government. The response of the Portuguese was a restatement of their position, namely that Goa was not a colony but a part of Portugal itself and they would admit nothing else.

So we had to think again. We had postponed the matter twice and vaguely a third date had to be fixed. There was the compulsion of events, and it became more and more difficult to keep playing a game of going forward and backward. It appeared to us that if we had really called off the whole action we would probably have had to shoot down our people in considerable numbers or stand by and witness the Portuguese shooting them.

On 15th December, U Thant, Acting Secretary-General of the U.N., sent an identical message to our Government and to the Portuguese Government suggesting immediate negotiations in accordance with the principles enunciated in the Charter as well as the principles formulated by the United Nations in their resolutions.

We replied to the Secretary-General that Portugal had been consistently ignoring the Charter provisions as well as the resolutions of the U.N. and had been rejecting all our appeals. The Portuguese answer to U Thant was that they were prepared to negotiate only on the basis of Goa being a part of Portuguese territory and of co-existence of India and Portuguese territory side by side. Further, they said they were not prepared to negotiate in accordance with the resolutions of the U.N. So the Portuguese Government closed the door which the Secretary-General of the U.N. had tried to open.

There the matter ended. This was the 15th.

On the evening of 17th December, we got a message

from our Ambassador in Washington. It conveyed the suggestion of the U.S. Government that if the Prime Minister of India made an announcement that he would delay the use of force by, say, six months, they would in the meantime try to get assurances from some powers that they would try to evolve some means of solving the Goa problem. We appreciated the anxiety of the United States Government to help in solving the issue. But it was a vague message. First of all we were to postpone everything by six months, and then they would apparently approach other powers which probably meant the U.K., the so-called oldest ally of Portugal, and jointly bring some pressure to solve the problem. Soon after we got this message from our Ambassador, the same evening the American Ambassador here saw us, bringing a similar message to us directly. It was rather an odd thing that even in this message which was conveyed by our Ambassador it was stated that the U.S. official who conveyed it expected little to happen on the part of Portugal. He did not give much hope of results.

As a matter of fact, the message came to us so late that it was almost physically not possible for us to reverse the processes which had been started. As you know, it was in the course of the 17th-18th night that our Army in three columns marched in. If there had been any real thing to hold on to, we would have tried our best to delay action, although it would have had dangerous consequences.

Then action started with the result which you know. It was practically over in a day's time, because except for a little in Diu and a little elsewhere, there was practically no resistance. The casualties would have been practically nil. In Goa mainland the only casualty was one wounded on our side. It was in the island that the Portuguese shot down our people after showing a flag of truce. And something happened in Diu. Even so, I think the casualties were altogether ten. On the Portuguese side, too, the casualties were very light.

I have tried to explain this background to indicate how we struggled all the time to find some way of preventing this happening. However, I want to make it quite clear that we had no doubt in our mind that we were justified in taking the

action. All the same, we did not want to take it because of certain consequences elsewhere, outside India and Portugal. That was an important consideration for us. We tried hard, but event after event pushed us, step by step, in that direction and made no return possible.

We certainly are responsible for the action in Goa. It was demanded and has been hailed by every party in India. It was treated by us as a national issue.

### INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE BECOMES COMPLETE

THIS BILL RELATES to Goa, Daman and Diu. Although it is short and simple, it is of considerable importance. In placing it before the House, the whole history of Goa's 451 years under Portuguese rule comes up before me. During these 451 years there have been revolts against Portuguese rule in Goa, suppressed in a rather bloody manner.

When long ago we started our movement for independence, we thought that independence meant the independence of the whole of India, including the enclaves that were in the possession of the French and the Portuguese. But the enclaves were so small that our main movement for independence was directed against British rule. We took it for granted that when British rule ceased in India, the other enclaves would also be freed. We never thought that there would be any difficulty about them. And so, when independence came, our thoughts went to these enclaves, French and Portuguese.

We had repeated discussions with the French, and it took a few years to settle the question with them. These discussions were based on our own Constitution, legal issues etc., but they were as between two sovereign countries. Ultimately the French made over the physical possession of the French territories in India to the Union Government.

I said that there were discussions as between two

Statement in Lok Sabha while introducing the Constitution Twelfth Amendment Bill, March 14, 1962

Governments. We tried to do the same thing with the Portuguese. We appointed a special Minister in Lisbon to discuss these matters and sent them a Note, but they refused to take the Note. Subsequently we made various attempts to raise the question with them but they did not even discuss it. We had ultimately to withdraw our Minister from Lisbon.

That had been the situation for many years. But in India there was naturally very great frustration and disappointment. In Goa itself there was trouble. Though there had been numerous revolts against the Portuguese Government in the past, there was no such revolt now because conditions were different and people in India and in Goa naturally thought in terms of some kind of non-violent or peaceful approach, accustomed as they were to our methods in achieving independence. This approach was attempted unofficially by large numbers of people, but this was suppressed in a very cruel manner by the Portuguese, and many people were killed. This went on, and all of us in India felt that our independence was not complete till Goa was free.

The Portuguese however, decided to declare Goa as one of the overseas provinces of Portugal and maintained that Goa was Portugal in fact, which was an extraordinary proposition. Certainly we could not accept that position, although unfortunately some countries did give some approval to it in the course of the last few years. But the United Nations last year declared that Goa was a colony, which it was.

Then came the recent events. Among these events were not only those that happened in Goa, but also those happening in other Portuguese colonies like Angola. These events greatly affected people's minds in India.

About seven months ago, I ventured to state in this House that we could not rule out any sterner measures, even military measures, in regard to Goa. I gave them notice. I gave them and other countries notice. Even so, as I stated then, we hoped to settle this matter peacefully.

There is another unfortunate aspect of this question which encouraged Portugal to hold on to Goa and to refuse even to talk to us. That was the active or passive approval given by certain powers, who are allies of Portugal, to the then existing

position in Goa. It might have been easier to settle this question peacefully if these other powers had exerted their efforts to that end.

Although our minds had been prepared for action, ultimately and rather suddenly our hands were forced by what took place in and just outside Goa. The House will remember there was some firing on Indian shipping carrying on in the normal way and there were some actual incursions from the Goan territory into India proper. These made it difficult for us not to take steps to prevent that kind of thing happening. We thereafter took steps and sent some military forces there. They hardly functioned in a military manner, and within 24 hours or 36 hours the whole action was over. We could not have done so if there had been any real resistance or if the people of Goa themselves were opposed to it. In fact, the people of Goa welcomed the Indian forces.

As soon as we took possession, Goa became part of the Indian Union under Article I of the Constitution, and all that was necessary for us was to declare in Schedule I that Goa was part of the Union. It was decided to do so by making Goa one of the Union Territories. I think that is the right thing. It does not come in the way of autonomy.

There has recently been a proposal that Goa should be a separate State. We have been unable to agree to that. But, quite apart from that, it would be impossible to constitute it as a State at the present moment because the position there is not wholly settled. Military governorship is functioning there with the civil laws to help it. A second Bill which I hope to place before the House a little later refers to our accepting the legal system existing there, except for the laws which we want to change. We feel that this is the simplest way of changing the Constitution and giving a certain authority and permanence to what has happened.

The present Bill simply says that Goa, Daman and Diu be added in Schedule I. We have made it clear that we want Goa to maintain its separate identity or individuality, because in the course of more than 400 years Goa has had a separate identity. We have no intention of changing or suppressing that identity. In fact, some people have advised us to make

another change in the Constitution and to recognize the Konkani language as one of the official languages of India.

There are many languages in India which we recognize for the purposes of administration, education etc. which are not mentioned in the Schedule of languages attached to the Constitution. I want to make it clear that we want to give full place to the Konkani language in Goa, and not to ignore it or to suppress it in any way. Konkani is the principal language of Goa.

The Bill means the end of an epoch and the beginning of another for Goa and for India. It has something of history attached to it. I feel that for this House, which has thought passionately about Goa in these many years, it is a matter of great satisfaction that the question has been settled and that an anachronism of history has been removed. The independence of India has become complete.

I feel proud to be able to place this Bill before the House. It ends a part of history which is not pleasant for us to remember and starts a new historical epoch in India.



### A FLEXIBLE APPROACH

**D**URING MY TRAVELS abroad the question of what language to speak in has often embarrassed me. Even in countries other than England, I have had to speak to the people in the English language. What is more, I have had to speak to my own countrymen in the English language. That practice astonished the people of those countries. A student once asked: "Have you no language of your own?" I answered: "Certainly we have. We have many very good languages." He enquired if they were only dialects. For he could not understand a number of Indians meeting in Germany speaking in English. It was, no doubt, an embarrassing thing and, therefore, I adopted a particular technique. Whenever I went to France, Germany or any other foreign country, I addressed Indian students and others in Hindi. It was quite true that some of them at least did not understand Hindi, but I wanted to make it clear to Frenchmen, Germans or others that I spoke in my own language. My practice now is to speak in Hindi for a few moments and then change over to English.

You will see that countries in Europe, including the Scandinavian countries which have small populations of three, four or five million, adhere rigidly to their language. Normally a Norwegian or a Swede or a Finn knows at least four languages. As a rule they study three compulsory languages and a fourth optional language, apart from a classical language. They take them all in a sweep. The small countries especially do it. An Englishman need not know an additional language because the territory over which his language prevails is wide. A German has also a pretty wide area where his language is understood. So also a Frenchman, and a Spaniard to some extent. In Finland, where there is an eight per cent minority of Swedes, there are two national languages—Finnish and

From speech on the occasion of closing the fifth session of the Indian Development Conference, Madras, January 6, 1956

Swedish. Both are given equal status and everybody has to learn Finnish and Swedish. I believe, as I have just said, they have to learn two other languages, Russian or German or French, apart from a classical language.

I should like to mention one aspect in regard to the learning of languages. The scientific theory is that the sooner one begins to learn a language the better. Of course, it is good sense too, and it has been supported by scientific examination of the structure of the brain. A very eminent Canadian brain surgeon came to India a year or two ago. He referred to a certain corner of the brain which can be called the language corner. The learning of languages is the function of the cells in this corner. The Canadian authority told us—he broadcast also on our radio—that these language cells are alive and grow only until the age of about ten. After that they stop growing. Until the age of ten, therefore, any language a child learns is learnt without effort as naturally as the learning of one's mother-tongue. People can and do of course learn languages at a later age but it becomes an effort. If one has laid the foundations of learning a language before ten, one can build upon those foundations easily. That was his theory. Therefore, his idea was that children should be exposed, if I may use the expression, to two or three languages before ten.

A great argument is going on in India about the issue of language. The most important and vital part of the language issue has been decided, namely the language in which instruction has to be given. Whatever the fine distinctions, it is established and acknowledged throughout India that the medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue. This principle applies not only to languages like Tamil, Bengali or Gujarati and other developed languages but also to the tribal languages in North-East India which are not written languages, except in so far as we are giving them a script now. For example there is no such thing as the Naga language, but there are scores of Naga languages, each of which does not go beyond ten villages. As a result, one group of villages does not understand the language of another group of villages. Yet we have gone so far as to try to educate them in their own very limited language at the primary stage. We have

attached importance to a person learning through his mother-tongue. The principle is that the State should give opportunities for a child to learn through his mother-tongue even in an area where the predominant language is different. For example, in Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta, the schools teach any number of languages. A vital change has come about in India with the decision that the mother-tongue should be used as the medium of instruction. There is a real break with the English language which is put into another category.

It seems to me quite clear that, having decided on the medium of instruction in schools, the argument is really limited to the language of communication between the States. The Constitution has laid down that after a certain period Hindi should replace English in this respect. The question is being considered in Parliament and elsewhere.

We should avoid rigidity in our approach to the question of language. We have to proceed with a certain flexibility and with a very large measure of common consent. There can be no compulsion in a matter like this. We cannot compel large numbers of people to do something which they do not like to do. I have no doubt that difficult as the problem is, it will be solved step by step. It is important that no decision should be arrived at which creates any kind of disability for people of one part of India in comparison with those of another. In regard to Hindi, it is quite natural for people in the non-Hindi-speaking areas to feel that it might create a disability for them in the services and in other ways. It is legitimate for them to express their fears. The matter should therefore be considered bearing in mind that there really can be no compulsion. Whatever our decision, it should be arrived at through general consent, and it should be flexible.

I shall refer to an aspect of our languages which, to my knowledge, has not been discussed. Our languages are deficient in technical vocabulary. They developed before our country acquired scientific or technical experience. We are on the eve of a technical revolution, and something terrible is happening in some of our languages, namely the coming of artificial words for technical or scientific concepts. These inventions have no history behind them, no life and no

connotation except what a schoolboy or girl may learn by heart. Technical and scientific literature is already very vast in foreign countries, and it is growing immensely. I read somewhere that a library devoted solely to literature on bees consisted of 35,000 books. All our languages will, no doubt, produce scientific books. To begin with, they will probably be translations from foreign languages or simple adaptations for school purposes. But we have to produce original works. It will be a bad thing if the technical books in the different languages of India differ widely from each other or indeed from foreign technical books. I do not say we should adopt foreign words completely. Mr. Avinashilingam said that in the Tamil Encyclopaedia the international terminology for technical and scientific terms has been broadly accepted, and I think it is a good thing. Another aspect of this question is that certain words in English and other European languages have acquired a scientific and a technical meaning which is different from their common connotation. A highly technical language has grown up in all the Western tongues which has very little relation to everyday speech.

We have to face these complicated problems at a time when we are moving over into an industrial and technological revolution. In order to escape disaster we should try to evolve some relatively common medium for the technical and scientific studies. Otherwise, it will produce enormous confusion in our boys' minds. Today a scientist cannot really do much unless he knows three or four languages of Europe. English is well known. Take another language, Russian. The scientific literature in Russian is growing very fast and is very important. The Russians have advanced greatly in science, and this advance is obvious by the various things they have done. The time is coming when no scientist can afford not to know Russian. So it is really becoming an extraordinarily difficult problem to deal with the world's accumulation of knowledge without knowing a number of languages. And to some extent many of the technical terms are, if not common, similar in the Western languages. If we go off completely in a different direction, it will be difficult for our people to be in touch with the main currents of science and technology.

## ENGLISH AND THE INDIAN LANGUAGES

MY APPROACH TO the language question is not the approach of those worthy colleagues of ours whom I would call the Hindi enthusiasts; nor is it the approach of the other colleagues who are the English enthusiasts. I am an enthusiast of both, Hindi and English. When I say Hindi, I mean the Indian languages. I do not see any real conflict between the languages.

In the course of the debate, many aspects of the language issue have been referred to. Mr. Frank Anthony's resolution touches only one aspect of it. One cannot help looking at this relatively small matter in the larger context.

In the past, English was undoubtedly an imposed language in India. It was imposed by the power that dominated over India. Therefore, while it opened out windows of knowledge, it also sat on top of our own languages and our own cultural traditions. To some extent that memory lingers though we should try to get rid of it and consider the matter more objectively and impersonally.

I recognize that English is and should be considered the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indian community. By putting it in the list of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, however, we do not make it more or less a mother-tongue. As the House knows, our policy is to encourage education in the mother-tongue. For example, in the North-East Frontier Agency we attempt to teach the people in their tribal languages. Some of these languages are not developed and are very imperfect: nevertheless, we think it important to start their primary education in their own language. If we start teaching in any other language, for instance in Assamese or Hindi, there is an element of difficulty because of its foreignness to the child. If we observe this principle in the case of the tribal languages, such an approach is even more valid in the case of the more developed languages. Teaching through

mother-tongue certainly applies to those whose mother-tongue is English.

The Eighth Schedule of the Constitution containing the list of 14 languages is certainly not an exhaustive schedule of Indian languages. There are quite a number of other languages which are not mentioned there. One must not think that the non-inclusion of a language in the list means that it is not an Indian language or is not a language used in India.

Take, for example, a language like French, which is not much used in India. There are plenty of Indians who have French as their mother-tongue in Pondicherry and elsewhere. We have promised to honour and encourage French in Pondicherry. We are indeed encouraging it. It is the language of that little State of Pondicherry today, and education, law, judiciary, public health and many other subjects are dealt with in French there. I do not know what will happen in the distant future. Maybe, before too long a very considerable number of Portuguese-speaking people will also be in our country. Goa will also come in, and we have even now given the assurance that the Portuguese language of Goa will be honoured. We respect it and it will be a language of India.

Again, take Sindhi. It is a very important language. Sind may have gone, but a large number of Sindhi-speaking people of eminence have come here with their language.

You know, so far as the Sahitya Akademi was concerned, we included Sindhi as well as English deliberately in our list, because we were dealing with a practical problem of encouraging the publication of books in languages which we considered to be of importance to India. One of the chief purposes of the Sahitya Akademi is to translate from one Indian language into another, translate from English into an Indian language, and translate from an Indian language into English. Inclusion of English in the list shows our friendly attitude to that language. We felt that English had a peculiar importance, not because, if I may say so with all respect, the Anglo-Indian community considered it their mother-tongue, but for wider reasons. English has been and will continue to be used for thinking and many other activities. We encourage it, but not

at the expense of the 14 languages or any other Indian language.

The Eighth Schedule is a list of the more widespread Indian languages which are spoken by large numbers of people. There are quite a number which are not included, which are very much Indian languages. Article 347 of the Constitution says:

“On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.”

It says, “any language”, not a language of the Eighth Schedule. It is the right of the people speaking any language, if they are sufficient in numbers, to request the President to declare it as the officially recognized language for that area.

It is true that the Indian languages have suffered psychologically and otherwise because of English; yet they have gained a great deal too from contacts with the wider world. I am rather partial to English. I consider it to be important. But I do think that it will be a bad thing if in India the feeling perseveres that a person who does not know English—he may be a scholar in his own language—is inferior to another person who knows English, however imperfect that knowledge be.

In the case of language, the major change that has come over India is that the medium of instruction in schools is now the language of the State. English is certainly used in education especially in the universities. But the instruction in the regional language is a big break linguistically from the past. You can therefore regard English only as a secondary language, a compulsory secondary language if you like, a highly important language, but a language which is not the medium of instruction. It is learnt as a foreign language. That is inevitable and also right.

There are certain risks and dangers in the Indian languages becoming autarkies or developing a separateness.

We should fight any such tendency, but in fighting it we should try not to come in the way of their development. We should encourage their fullest development. I believe it is through such development that the languages can come together. We shall get over the danger of linguistic separatism as long as we encourage the right tendencies and one language group does not try to impose its will on other groups.

Take Hindi. Hindi is at present objected to by many people in the South. Why? Because of a feeling of imposition, and not because they are against Hindi. As a matter of fact, there are vast numbers of people in the South learning Hindi and learning it very well. Hindi is progressing there, but the moment you talk of any kind of imposition, they get angry, quite rightly. Therefore, all talk of imposition must go. I should go further and tell the people of the South that, if they do not want to learn Hindi, let them not learn Hindi. Let us adopt this approach, if they desire so, and thereby we will gradually bring them nearer.

I repeat that the big thing that has happened in India is that the medium of instruction has changed from English to the regional languages. It is right and essential for our education to be in the regional languages if we have to deal with the masses of our people.

I have said I am partial to English. But I am also partial to the masses of this country. I cannot forget that we have to carry 400 million people, and we cannot carry them psychologically, emotionally or practically in any way except through their language. It is no good forgetting that it is the non-English-knowing people who will decide the fate of India, because they are the vast majority in this country. We have to encourage our languages, and we have to conduct our education and work progressively in our languages in order to keep in touch with the people and to bring them into emotional contact with what is happening in the Government and in the country.

For all these reasons, I do not think that Mr. Frank Anthony's resolution is a wise resolution or a wise step to take.

Our Constitution laid it down that Hindi should develop progressively. We took that decision not because Hindi is



better or more powerful than the other languages, but for certain very practical reasons. I believe that this should be done.

I suggest two things. Firstly, as I have said, there must be no imposition. Secondly, for an indefinite period—I do not know how long—I would have English as an associate, additional language which can be used for official purposes. I would have it so not mainly because of the existing facilities, but because I do not wish the people of the non-Hindi areas to feel that certain advantages are denied to them, being forced to correspond in the Hindi language. They can correspond in English. I would have English as an alternate language as long as the people require it, and I would leave the decision not to the Hindi-knowing people, but to the non-Hindi-knowing people.

I come to English and its importance. It is important not because a number of people know it in India, although it is a factor to be remembered. It is not important because it is the language of Milton and Shakespeare, although that also has to be considered. There are great poets in other foreign languages too like French, German, Russian and Spanish, apart from Asian languages. English is important because it is the major window for us on the modern world. And we dare not close that window. If we close it, we imperil our future.

We think of our Five Year Plans, industrialization, scientific development and technology. But every door of modern knowledge will be closed if we do not have one or more foreign languages. We need not have English; we can have French, German or Russian, if we like, but obviously it is infinitely simpler for us to deal with a language which we know than to shift over to French or German or Russian or Spanish, which will be a tremendous job. Certainly we want to learn French, German, Russian, Spanish or other foreign languages, because we deal with people of those languages in business, trade and science. Every competent scientist today has to know two or three non-Indian languages. It is inevitable that in the present stage of our development, with our Five Year Plans, industrialization, mechanization, scientific progress and research, we cannot progress with all the Indian languages

put together. If we want to stick to them only, without foreign languages, we do not go ahead. I am definite on that point.

There is another aspect which we may bear in mind when we talk about language. In the context of the industrial age and all the other scientific developments, a totally new language is developing in the world, namely a language largely of mathematical formulae. There is very little else there. These mathematical formulae are internationally accepted. Only scientists understand this language and, as for you and me, we just cannot understand it. This language is developing at a terrific pace, because it has to keep abreast of developments in technology and pure science. Likewise, it is essential that we use international numerals progressively, because they again are a symbol of the modern age. We cannot introduce formulae in the Devanagari numerals. If we do, we immediately get into a different world.

In conclusion I will say that it is of the utmost importance that the people grow from their roots. Our languages represent a continuity of our cultural tradition from Sanskrit. We have to develop our languages, and we have to keep in touch with the masses of our people. Therefore we have progressively to function in our languages. At the same time, we have to remember we live in the modern scientific age. We must have a foreign language to serve as a window to the modern age.

## OUR NEW NEEDS

I HAVE A feeling that the debate in the House is slightly out of date or will soon be out of date. The approach has been as though India is not changing, and as though we can carry on in the old way. In reality, a new world is coming upon us in two ways.

First, there is the growth of democracy. Vast numbers of people are coming into the field of political decision. Through elections or otherwise, they come into this field, even though a great majority of them do not know a foreign language. Many of us who sit here belong to a generation which was brought up differently, that is, through English as the medium of education. This is something that is not happening in India now. It will happen still less in the future. So the whole context of this argument is changing.

The second point to bear in mind is that the new world that is growing up in India is going to be a scientific, technological and industrial world. The industrial revolution is coming to India, rather belatedly, no doubt, and India is trying to catch up with the developments of the twentieth century. This industrial revolution changes the texture of our life and our thinking. It introduces words without number which we have to use in the new occupations, and all the efforts of Dr. Raghu Vira and Seth Govind Das cannot meet that situation. They may produce volumes after volumes of artificial words, so-called translations. Nobody will accept them, because the language of science and technology will not come out of the class-room or the translator's room; it will arise from the scientists and technologists.

Having unburdened myself to that extent, I should like to say that this Committee, of which my friend and colleague, the Home Minister, was the chairman, has done a remarkable piece of work. I do not pretend to agree with every line that the members of the Committee have written and I do not want anybody here to agree with every line that they have written. It was, after all, a very difficult problem, and it is really

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From speech in Lok Sabha on the report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language, September 4, 1959

remarkable that this measure of agreement was brought about.

Let us consider the facts. One of the basic facts today is that the medium of instruction in schools now is the language of the region, whether it is Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi or any other. This will produce a generation utterly unlike the generation to which we belong. I want you to realize that it is not a question of Hindi versus English; it is a question of the 14 languages—or more than 14, even though they are not in the Constitution—through which education will be carried on. Therefore, English inevitably becomes a secondary language in India. It can no longer be the primary language.

It follows obviously that we require some kind of a common language link and the Constitution has said that Hindi should be that common official language link. Remember, it is for official correspondence or official work between the States. The argument that may be advanced for English to be this kind of official language for India really becomes very weak if we realize the first fact which I have just mentioned. There are, no doubt, plenty of arguments in favour of English. We do much of our work in English because we have grown up like that. Tomorrow it may not be the case and the day after tomorrow it will still less be the case. You may criticize Hindi and say it is not good enough and has not developed enough. I will, for a moment, accept all the criticisms. It can also be reasonably argued that an Indian language other than Hindi would be more suitable for the purpose. I do not say that Hindi is, in the slightest degree, better than any other Indian language. In fact, I firmly believe that some of the Indian languages are richer in content and have a better literature than Hindi. But that does not detract from the fact that all the Indian languages have to develop and that they have to influence each other.

I take it that the real, basic opposition comes from a fear that if Hindi comes in, it will mean a disability for the non-Hindi-knowing areas. I say it will undoubtedly be a disability. Let us face that. Let us not try to get over it and say anybody can learn it in a fortnight or in a month or a year. It will be a disability for a considerable time. I say a rule must be laid

down by which we do absolutely nothing which creates a disability of the non-Hindi-speaking areas, in regard to services and like matters. Let that be quite clear.

I am perfectly clear in my mind that for any foreseeable time there should be no bar, in the sense of compulsory knowledge of Hindi, to the recruitment of persons in the services. If a man does not know one word of Hindi, he still ought to be able to be recruited. But I would certainly have him learn Hindi. Of course, I want him to learn it at an earlier stage too. Very probably he will. I am merely saying that this feeling of disability should vanish. Mr. Frank Anthony said, 'Oh, the Prime Minister said that there will be no imposition of language. Therefore there should be no compulsory test in Hindi after a person comes in.' I do not see how that follows.

Suppose an all-India officer is going to Madras. I would insist on his having a compulsory test in Tamil. This is one of the normal things done for convenience of administration and for one's proper functioning. The man from the all-India service ought to know the language of the place he works in. He normally tries to learn it, whether he learns it well or not. Persons in the Foreign Service whom we send to other countries are required, as a compulsory qualification, to learn foreign languages. Each person has to choose one or two or sometimes three foreign languages. So you must not look upon learning a language as an imposition.

When I said that there should be no imposition of Hindi, what I meant was this. Whether it is Madras, Andhra, Kerala or any other region, I do not wish to impose a language on that State in the sense in which the State will take it as an imposition. If they feel a sense of pressure or imposition they react against it. If the State of Madras says, 'We do not want compulsory Hindi', let them not have compulsory Hindi in their schools. As a matter of fact, there are a large number of people learning the language voluntarily. I want to remove any sense of compulsion. I want to remove the idea that they will suffer in service or in work or in any other way.

In this matter, as I said on an earlier occasion, we have to be flexible. I do not like dates in such matters. We start

movements and processes and give the lead in certain directions, and we adjust to developments, keeping in view our objectives

I come to English. I said that English should be an associate or additional language. What exactly did I mean by it? I meant exactly what that means. That is to say, English cannot be in India anything but a secondary language in future. Mass education will be in our own languages. I hope English will be taught as a compulsory language to a large number of people, but it cannot be taught to everybody. To a large number it remains a secondary language. Hindi, wherever it is feasible, will come to be used in a progressively increasing measure for inter-State official work. But English should have a place there too. English can be used by the States in writing to the Central Government or to one another. The internal work of the State will be done presumably in the State language. English comes in only for the purpose of dealings on the all-India scale. It should be open to anybody and to any State to do that in English. We encourage them to do it in Hindi, if they can do it. But there is no limitation. I say there is no limitation even of time to the use of English, except when there is a general agreement and those very people in the non-Hindi-speaking areas who might be affected agree.

I submit to the House and more especially to our colleagues from the Hindi-speaking areas that if there is one thing that is going to come in their way, it is their over-enthusiasm. The way they approach this subject often irritates others, as it irritates me. The type of Hindi they produce is really a most extraordinary one. I am not worried about it, for Hindi or any other language that will come up in India will come up from the masses, not from literary coteries.

What type of Hindi are we going to use really? The business of some kind of slot-machine turning out Hindi words and Hindi phrases is artificial, unreal, absurd, fantastic and laughable. We cannot have that kind of approach to a language.

One aspect of language to which I attach great

importance is technical and scientific terminology. There is no very great difference, although there is some difference, among the terms in English, French, German, etc. The scientific terms in these languages broadly approximate, though their endings may be different. There is thus something which might be called international scientific and technological terminology. I am strongly in favour of not only Hindi but every language of India trying to have identical scientific and technical terms. I do not say that every word should be absolutely the same and I do not want well-known words to be rejected. Well-known words, whether in Hindi or Tamil or other languages, will of course be used. But it is not a question of using or not using well-known words; it is a question of this vast, advancing flood of technical language that has to be absorbed by us. Even if we could translate the words adequately, we still do the wrong thing, because we would be separated from the rest of the world to a certain extent in regard to those words. It is true that words like oxygen originally came from Greek or Latin. In regard to the common words which are in use we have to adopt them bodily. The ordinary man does not ask your opinion as to what he should call a bicycle. He calls it a bicycle and is done with it. But there are some gentlemen living in Lucknow who insist on calling it "Dwichakri".

I have great admiration for Sanskrit. If there is one thing which embodies the greatness of Indian thought and culture in the past, it is Sanskrit. We do not talk Sanskrit now, but the Indian languages of today are either directly descended from Sanskrit or, like the Southern languages, have been closely allied with it. The background of thought and culture of the Southern languages, whether Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam, is closely allied to the background of thought and culture of the Northern languages because of Sanskrit and its effect on the whole of India. I do not say all of Sanskrit is good; but it has provided the roots on which India has grown up. If we cut away those roots it will be very bad for us; we become superficial human beings.

Therefore, with all my admiration of foreign languages or English I can never ask our people to transplant their roots

to English roots. It cannot and will not be done under our democratic adult suffrage.

That is in relation to the great heritage that we have. The other is the future to which we look forward. It is a future which, to a large extent, is influenced by what may be called modernism, the spirit of the age, the *Yuga Dharma*, which is science and technology.

Broadly speaking, in our approach to language, we should be flexible, because the moment rigidity comes in, difficulties come in. If we adopt this flexible approach, we shall succeed both on the issue of language and on the basic question of synthesis between the old and the new.

### LANGUAGES GROW THROUGH INTER-ACTION

THE HISTORY OF India bears witness to the fact that its people have throughout endeavoured to bring about integration. The atmosphere of this country has always been conducive to a synthesis of thought and culture.

Urdu is a great example of this synthesis and integration. I cannot say readily how much Urdu has borrowed from the other Indian languages, but I can say that 70 or perhaps 80 per cent of the content of the Urdu language has been contributed by Hindi and Sanskrit and by other languages which form its heritage. Perhaps 20 or 25 per cent has been borrowed from languages once current here, like Turkish and Arabic. Not only Urdu but Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi have taken many words from these languages and have made them their own.

A language grows through contact with other languages. It begins to decline as soon as it restricts itself and aims at purity of blood. This is true not only of languages but of nations. The history of the world shows us that nations stagnate and decline when they isolate themselves from others and

From inaugural speech at an exhibition of Urdu newspapers and books, New Delhi, October 19, 1961



insulate their minds against fresh winds. Nations advance by contacts with others and by opening their windows to fresh air. Languages grow in a similar way.

Urdu had a tendency to enrich itself by borrowing words from other languages and it derived its strength from that tendency. Even today, Urdu has a higher proportion of English words than Hindi proper though, being similar, it is difficult to distinguish between the two. Urdu is an example of integration in India, not only of languages but of minds, literatures and cultures. It is cent per cent an Indian language.

- I regard it essential for Hindi to cultivate closer contacts with Urdu. This will make Hindi stronger. Similarly, if Urdu is to progress in India, it is essential for it to acquaint itself with Hindi and cultivate close relations with it. The difference between Urdu and Hindi is not much. The difference lies mostly in the script.

There should be interchange not only between Hindi and Urdu, but between the other languages of the country. I also want our languages to grow by contact with foreign languages. I do not agree with those who consider it wrong to borrow words from the languages of Europe and other countries, especially in this age of science when lakhs of new words, following the development of numerous new techniques and inventions, are being evolved. Words come into currency by use. If one goes to mechanics or professional workers, one will hear many words which they have invented themselves and which have come into currency. They are not coined by lexicographers. So far as scientific vocabulary is concerned, we should try to have the minimum difference as between the languages.

Script is a barrier between the languages. It is easy for a Hindi-knowing person to learn the other languages derived from Sanskrit, like Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati. Some difficulty arises from their scripts, but not much. If these languages were written in the same script, as European languages are, a great barrier to their understanding will be removed. It is, however, difficult for languages to change their scripts. Therefore, we do not propose that their scripts should be replaced by Nagari. We suggest that along with

their own scripts, Nagari should be used for writing these languages. This has to take place spontaneously without legislative compulsion.

It has been amply proved that a language grows by its intrinsic strength and not by Government order. Government support may make it grow a little but it does not grow in the real sense. It grows only when it has life. Our languages have that vitality. They are progressing. But if we take a wrong path and insulate Hindi and the other languages from each other, they will wither and lose their spark of life. If we want our languages to be strong and to be fresh, they will have to open their doors and windows not only to each other but to the languages of the whole world in order that they may gain from the contacts. This will keep our languages as well as our country fresh.

### THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

**T**HIS BILL is a continuation of what happened in the past. The object of the Bill is to remove a restriction which had been placed by the Constitution on the use of English after a certain date, namely 1965.

I had given on an earlier occasion an assurance about no major change being made in regard to the use of English without the consent and approval of the non-Hindi-speaking people. That represented not only my view-point but the view-point of our Government. The assurance was made largely with the approval of the House. We stand by that assurance completely. There is not an iota of difference from what we had said then. And, apart from that, there are circumstances in the country which inevitably point to that direction.

The question is one of removing a restriction which would have prevented the English language from being used after

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From speech in Lok Sabha during debate on the Official Language Bill, April 24, 1963

a certain date. We say that English may be used afterwards.

Nevertheless, I have been convinced for a long time that any real upsurge in India or awakening of the people in India cannot take place through the English language. Many hon. Members will remember the tremendous difference that came in our public work and agitational work when we gave up frock-coat, top hat and the English language in our approach to the people. A country can preserve its individuality and develop the sense of the masses only through the languages which have deep roots in their minds and hearts.

- The makers of our Constitution were wise in laying down that all the 13 or 14 languages were to be national languages. There is no question of any one language being more a national language than the other. Bengali or Tamil or any other regional language is as much an Indian national language as Hindi.

All our Indian languages have grown in the last 15 years. Our languages are alive and are dynamic today. Although India is multi-lingual, its languages are closely allied. We can skip from one to another with relative ease. And we should try to do it. We have suggested the three-language formula. A large number of people should know, apart from English, some Indian language other than their own. As this understanding grows, the languages will come closer together, and the gaps which exist between the Indian languages will decrease. Inevitably, these languages must grow in their own regions.

I am all for English being used for higher scientific and technological studies. Even so, if we are to spread the knowledge of science in our schools, we should teach it widely through the national languages. Otherwise, we will inevitably limit the people's understanding and appreciation of it. It will not spread.

Let us not look at it from the point of view of Hindi versus English or English versus Hindi. That is a wrong point of view. We have to use each in its proper sphere. In the sphere of national languages, only national languages have a place. We cannot speak of English in that connection. We can speak of English in many other connections.

Therefore we have to develop regional languages. I have no doubt that we will do more and more of the work of education, administration, etc., in the regional languages. The growth of India, in the sense of language, can only take place by the co-operation of the languages and not by the conflict of languages. They are near enough, and the ideas behind them are much the same.

The real difficulty arises in the next stage. What is to be the link connecting these regional languages?

So far, the link has been English. In fact, it has not only been the link, but work even within the regions has been done not in the regional languages, but in English. We have had a fixation about English, and we still have it to a large extent. There is no doubt there is a certain vested interest created in the knowledge of English. That automatically separates us from those who do not know English. It is a very bad thing. Before independence, in this country of castes, the most hardened caste was the caste of the English-knowing, English-clothed, and English-living people. It put high barriers between us and the masses of India. We have to remove these barriers.

Hindi has been suggested in our Constitution as the link language for Central and official purposes. As I have said earlier, I want English to continue here for many purposes, and it may even be a link language, for example, between individual thinkers, literary men and authors. But the normal link language for India cannot be English. The normal link language has to be an Indian language, and of all the Indian languages, only Hindi is feasible. That is the only claim that I make for it.

At the present moment, it will not serve the purpose fully to take up all the work of the administration in Hindi. It is not because the Government has not helped Hindi to grow or not encouraged it enough.

It is not sufficiently adapted today, for various reasons. It is getting rapidly adapted. Let us encourage that process.

That process cannot be a sudden change-over so that we can fix a date and say that from that date English ceases and Hindi comes in. It has to be a gradual process. In this gradual

transformation, dates have very little significance except to examine the position from time to time to see whether we are going along the right lines.

From that point of view, it is quite inevitable, apart from the assurances I may have given, that English has to continue as an associate language or an additional language—call it what you like. The door remains open, and it will be used. As a matter of fact, it is the circumstances prevailing in the country that will compel us to use it. If we try to suppress its use, undoubtedly we will not only create a hiatus but stop our progress in many directions which cannot be achieved at the present moment entirely through Hindi.

Our progress should be in the direction of developing Hindi, not only as a regional language, but as a link language and maintaining English to serve that purpose so that there may be no gap. I do think we should get rid of not English, which is very useful, but the fixation of the English language in our minds.

The Home Minister has indicated that whenever the Committee which is to be constituted after ten years reports, its report should be sent to all the State Governments to elicit their views, so that there is no question of rushing a programme like this. There is no question of trying to impose it on others, because the attempt will fail. The more you impose, the more obstructions and more difficulties you will have. A question like this can be dealt with only by a large measure of consent and consultation. I want to remove any apprehension that, possibly, by a majority in Parliament or elsewhere we shall make changes which are not approved by the non-Hindi people. This cannot be done, because apart from my assurance, it will raise such problems and such difficulties that no government can conceivably want to do it that way. It can only be settled by consultation and general consent.

We are passing through a difficult and delicate period of transition in many ways. It calls for wisdom from us and a capacity and flexibility in order to meet the demands of the times.

The main question is one of India's growth, materially,

scientifically, industrially, intellectually, spiritually, in every way. We must view every step which we take in the perspective of that major question. What will it profit us if we honour Hindi and put it in a closed space, which prevents not only its growth, but the nation's growth?

The growth of our languages is essentially tied up with the growth of the nation. The two help each other. We must therefore look upon this question in this wide context.

## DEMOCRACY AND THE CHANGING WORLD

**D**ELIBERATELY AND AFTER long argument we in India adopted a Constitution based on parliamentary government. The fact that nearly eight years of the working of our Constitution have not in any sense made us waver in our allegiance to it indicates our strong faith in it. We prize the parliamentary form of government because it is a peaceful method of dealing with problems. It is a method of argument, discussion and decision, and of accepting that decision, even though one may not agree with it. However, the minority in a parliamentary government has a very important part to play. Naturally, the majority, by the mere fact that it is a majority, must have its way. But a majority which ignores the minority is not working in the true spirit of parliamentary democracy.

In a period of dynamic change, the institution of parliament has to function with speed. Does the parliamentary form of government enable a country to move with speed when speed becomes essential? Take an emergency like war. When a war occurs, parliaments continue to function, but with certain limitations because of the emergency. A great deal depends on the conditions of the times, on the environment and on the problems which a country has to face. Having approved of parliamentary democracy as the right approach, we have to see how to temper it and how to fit it in, so that it can answer the major questions of the age.

Sometimes it is said that parliamentary democracy is inevitably combined with a system of private enterprise. Private enterprise may be good or bad, but I do not see what parliamentary democracy has to do with private enterprise. I do not see any connection between the two except the connection of past habit and past thinking. In fact, the

arguments about socialism, private enterprise and public sector, important as they are, have tended to become less and less valid. There is no country in the world where some middle way between the extremes has not been or is not being found. In the U.S.A., which is said to have a highly developed form of modern capitalism and private enterprise, there is more public enterprise than in most countries which apparently have a different objective and ideal.

In Europe, we see many countries having advanced very far on the road to socialism. I am not referring to the communist countries but to those which may be called parliamentary, social democratic countries. There is no conflict between socialism and parliamentary democracy. In fact, I would venture to say that there is going to be an increasing degree of conflict between the idea of parliamentary government and full-fledged private enterprise.

Parliamentary government is a democratic conception. It means the gradual widening of the franchise till it becomes adult franchise. It is only in very recent times that any country has had adult franchise. The effects of adult franchise are being felt in full only now. This political change having fully established itself, it has become obvious that a political change by itself is not enough.

From political democracy we advance to the concept of economic democracy. First of all, that means working for a certain measure of well-being for all, call it Welfare State. Secondly, it means working for a certain measure of equality of opportunity in the economic sphere. Every country, whether it is communist, non-communist or anti-communist, is going that way.

We can hardly have a political democracy without mass education. In other countries full-blooded political democracy came after education had spread a good deal as a result of the economic revolution which had prepared the ground for it. But in most Asian countries, certainly in India, we have taken a huge jump to hundred per cent political democracy without the wherewithal to supply the demands which a politically conscious electorate makes. That is the essence of the problem in all the Asian countries. All our political life is



really concerned with how rapidly we can bridge this hiatus between desires and their fulfilment. India's Second Five Year Plan is an attempt to bridge the hiatus. We have to think not merely in some academic way of the form of government which we should have, but in terms of a political structure which will fulfil the demands made upon it. If the political structure cannot do so, it means that it has become out of date and may have to go.

With revolutionary changes in communication and with the coming in of atomic energy, the whole structure of human society is changing. On the political plane it becomes more and more obvious that while countries, small or big, wish to retain hundred per cent national independence, they can hardly continue to do so in the present context of the world. I have little doubt in my mind that some kind of a world order will have to arise, but I hope it will not be the kind which takes away from the attributes of national freedom and individual freedom. The world moves more and more towards centralization, for the whole process of scientific advance tends towards centralization, but we have to see that this centralization does not limit, reduce or kill liberty. The biggest problem of the age is to resolve the problem of centralization and national freedom.

I do not know whether ultimately the parliamentary structure answers this question or not. But I should imagine that the parliamentary form of government is more likely to do so than the other forms which lead to some measure of authoritarianism. But we have to realize that no authoritarian government can be absolutely dictatorial except for a brief period. In the long run it has to reckon with public opinion. The high level of education that prevails in industrialized societies makes people think and ultimately rebel against things they do not like. Therefore, I am not very much afraid of dictators and the like coming in the future. Nevertheless, centralization means a restriction of liberties. To have both centralization and decentralization is therefore the problem of the age. In India, during the last generation or two, we have been powerfully impressed by Gandhiji's idea of decentralization. Seeing the dangers of too much concentration

of power he advocated decentralization—whether it was political power or economic power.

Where society becomes more and more complex, the official apparatus grows tremendously. Bureaucracy grows. Bureaucracy means a trained person doing a job. But as trained persons fit into a huge machine, they become cogs and lose initiative and purpose. Any system of government which tends to become passive and static is bad. The parliamentary system of government, with all its failings, has the virtue that it can fit in with the changing pattern of life.

### AN EXAMPLE OF DEMOCRATIC FUNCTIONING

IT IS JUST two months ago that this matter of the Life Insurance Corporation came into my ken when it was first raised in this House. Since then all of us have naturally been much concerned about it and have followed the developments from day to day. This has been a somewhat painful ordeal for some of us, and these two months have made us sadder, a little older and perhaps a little wiser. But that experience or wisdom has been purchased at a fairly considerable cost. For it has cost us the services of an able and distinguished Finance Minister at a time when those services were most needed.

Whatever the penalties which we or others have paid or may suffer, this inquiry has demonstrated to India and to the world the democratic way in which we function. It has established the dignity and majesty of this Parliament, and of the procedures we follow in maintaining high standards in public life and administration. That is a great gain. That is an example to be remembered by all of us in India.

In accordance with parliamentary procedure, this House heard yesterday a statement on the resignation of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari. He has resigned and paid the penalty for

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From speech in Lok Sabha initiating debate on the Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the Life Insurance Corporation of India, February 19, 1958

what had happened. So far as this House is concerned, there is nothing more to be said about it.

In the course of this inquiry, much has been said about public ownership as opposed to private ownership, about nationalized Life Insurance Corporation as opposed to private insurance companies, and about civil servants or business men being in charge of large undertakings. Not only some witnesses but the public press has discussed this matter and some individuals have expressed their opinions about the failings of nationalization. That was not a question for inquiry before the Commission. However, it is good that the facts have come out before the public.

I do not remember any such criticisms being made of the serious failures of a number of well-known private insurance companies. Apparently, such failures of private concerns were almost taken for granted and required no particular comment. It might be remembered that one of the principal reasons for nationalizing life insurance was the fact of such failures and the gross mismanagement of companies. Business men were in charge of them. I am mentioning this so that we might consider this matter in proper perspective, and not in any way slur over or try to minimize the events that took place in connection with the purchase of certain shares by the Life Insurance Corporation, which have been the subject of inquiry.

The Life Insurance Corporation has been doing rather well in recent months and is transacting far greater business than it has ever done before. After the initial few months which were taken up in problems of reorganization, when the quantum of business fell, it has made rapid progress. The officers who run it deserve credit for the way they have done it. That does not mean that we should not pay adequate attention to any wrong thing done.

I should like to say at the outset, on behalf of the Government, that we are of the opinion that the transaction resulting in the purchase of shares of the six companies was not entered into in accordance with business principles. I am also opposed to its propriety on several grounds. We accept, therefore, the Commission's findings in regard to this transaction.

As the Chairman of the Commission remarked in the course of the inquiry, there are several facts in this case for which I have no explanation. Even the inquiry has not elicited all the information which would enable us to form a clear opinion in regard to a number of these facts. I fail to understand how the normal precautions were not taken in buying the shares and in fixing the prices, why the Investment Committee was not consulted, and why the prices of the transaction raised no protest. I do not know whether it is possible to elicit further information now or in the future. But an attempt will certainly be made.

A number of officers of the Government or of the Corporation are concerned in some way or the other with these transactions. We feel that in so far as the officers responsible for putting through these transactions are concerned, appropriate proceedings on the basis of the findings of the Commission should be initiated.

But I should like to remind the House that while that is necessary and should be done, it is not right for us to come to final conclusions in regard to persons who are not here to answer or to defend themselves. There are procedures laid down for this purpose and they should be followed. It has been a convention of this House that no one should be condemned who is not given an opportunity to defend himself. That is specially so in regard to public servants. It is even more necessary to remember that if an individual is held responsible, it does not follow that the whole group of officers are at fault or are to be condemned. It would be a bad day if we generalize from a particular case, more specially in regard to civil servants.

I consider the great majority of senior civil officers serving in India to be a body of men and women of high ability and integrity who have served their country well. As a group, they can be compared to their advantage with any similar group in any part of the world. They had to face a new situation and new types of work. They have done their utmost, often with success, to adapt themselves to this new situation.

In the course of the inquiry, though not in the report itself, mention was made of some persons wholly unconnected

with these transactions in a way which might be disadvantageous to them and to the positions they occupy. The Governor of the Reserve Bank was mentioned in that way. I regret that anything should have been said which reflects on a man of high integrity and ability, who occupies a position of great responsibility.

In this inquiry a question has been raised about the employment of officials of the civil service in our nationalized undertakings and our big projects. It has been suggested that business men of experience would be more suitable. I would welcome business men or other non-officials if they have the ability and integrity that is required for such responsible posts. But there is another consideration to be borne in mind. A person serving in a nationalized undertaking should agree with the objective of nationalization and of State control. It is interesting to remember that quite a number of our senior civil servants, after retiring from service, have been offered and have accepted high posts in private business and are then supposed to be experienced business men.

The person chiefly and most intimately concerned with the particular question of investment, which arises here, was and is a person who is considered an old, experienced business man. He is not a civil servant. He has had experience over a long period in one of the biggest life insurance companies previously.

The question has arisen as to what part the Government should take in the working of an autonomous corporation. The Commission has recommended certain principles. We shall examine their recommendation in regard to these principles very carefully. Broadly speaking, we agree that autonomous corporations should have autonomy, subject naturally to such limitations as may be prescribed.

Let us look at the Act which gave birth to the Life Insurance Corporation. The entire capital of the Corporation has been found by the Government. According to the Act, the Government has the right to appoint the entire Board, the right to lay down the rules, the right to approve the regulations which may be made by the Corporation itself and the right even to wind up the Corporation. Thus, although the

Corporation was meant to be independent and autonomous in its day-to-day functioning a machinery was provided for the Government to give guidance to the Corporation in various ways. Parliament in its wisdom imposed upon the Government the responsibility that this business should be conducted properly through a Corporation and authorized the Government to give directives when they found such directives necessary.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister, stated in Lok Sabha on the 18th May, 1956 that there was the further safeguard that the Central Government had the right to give directions to the Corporation in the matter of investment. Investment does mean not only investment generally but specific investments. Therefore, to lay down as a principle that the Government must keep aloof from the Corporation completely would be to challenge the decisions of Parliament.

Having made this point clear, I should like to add that we entirely agree that an autonomous corporation should not be generally interfered with. Indeed, it is our belief that there should be more and more devolution of power and authority, subject to certain safeguards.

This inquiry has raised very novel questions. In the United Kingdom similar questions have arisen in regard to a recent inquiry called the Bank Rate inquiry. The inquiry exercised British opinion greatly, as indeed the present inquiry has exercised Indian opinion. The two inquiries are not of the same type; the matters involved are not the same. Nevertheless there is a certain similarity, and the same questions have arisen.

After the Bank Rate inquiry was over, many doubts were expressed as to the proper mode of a public inquiry in such cases. I believe the practice in regard to inquiries in England is to hand over a case to the Treasury Solicitor and he is given the assistance of the chief of police to make investigations. Upon the investigations being completed, all the information is put before the inquiry commission. The commission does not, as a rule, take part in the examination of witnesses, but leaves it to the Attorney-General who is furnished with statements obtained by the Treasury Solicitor. The Attorney-

General conducts both the examination and the cross-examination and in doing so and in presenting the case, he acts only in the interest of bringing out facts.

I am explaining this, because it is a matter for the future. The other day I stated elsewhere that the method of inquiry was not very satisfactory. Some people thought that I was criticizing the Chairman of the Commission. It was far from my thought. I was not criticizing the Chairman at all, but rather the whole approach. The fault really and principally lay with us in not thinking this matter out beforehand. As a matter of fact, if I may say so with some hesitation and in all confidence, we were hustled by Parliament.

Parliament did not order us. We appreciated Parliament's eagerness, a very legitimate eagerness. We were asked: Did some Members of the Cabinet want to delay this inquiry? Did they want to postpone it? With this kind of atmosphere surrounding us we wanted to take action immediately and, of course, from the very first day we were anxious to have a full inquiry to elicit all the facts and take steps. But we were not quite clear as to the best way of doing it, and because of our lack of prescience or lack of thought given to it, difficulties arose, as they arose in England in a different context.

It is for Parliament to consider at a later stage, and for the Government to keep in mind as to what type of procedure we should allow. It is not necessary for us to follow the British practice in this or any other matter. But since in many ways we do follow the British practice in Parliament, we can learn much from what has been done elsewhere. I certainly think, subject to further consideration, that when such an occasion arises in future for the appointment of a commission, some preliminary step should be taken and some preliminary investigation should be made to be placed before the tribunal to help them.

There is another aspect to such an inquiry. The inquiry, like any judicial procedure, must necessarily be conducted with decorum and dignity and without public interference. I think, as a rule, a public inquiry is better than a private inquiry. But if the whole atmosphere of the court becomes

surcharged by public excitement and public exclamation and interference, it is not the normal atmosphere which should prevail in a judicial court or in a like inquiry. The Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Justice Chagla, was much distressed at what was happening in his court and protested many times about it. Every effort should be made to prevent this kind of public excitement from overflowing into a court room.

There are questions relating to ministerial responsibility, and like questions. These are important, but they are hardly within the purview of the Inquiry Commission. These questions are really for Parliament to determine and are usually matters of convention. We accept the broad principle of ministerial responsibility. But to say that the Minister is always responsible for all the actions of the officers working under him may be to take this much too far.

May I say that this inquiry had obviously nothing to do with the broad principles of the policy of the Government? It is not for such inquiries to criticize, comment on or object to the broad principles of policies which Parliament has laid down. But there has been so much reference in the press and elsewhere to these broad policies and an attempt has been made to run down those broad policies not only in regard to insurance but even in regard generally to the public sector. I feel it is necessary to state quite clearly and positively that so far as the Government's policies in regard to the public sector and in regard to enlarging the public sector are concerned, they hold completely. There is not a shadow of doubt in our mind that those policies are right and should be pursued.

I have already stated that the Government accept the Commission's findings to the effect that the transaction resulting in the purchase of shares of the six companies was not entered into in accordance with business principles and was also opposed to propriety on several grounds. Further, the Government intend to initiate proper proceedings on the basis of the findings of the Commission in respect of the officers responsible for putting through the transaction. The Government also intend to examine carefully certain principles recommended by the Commission for adoption by the Government and the Corporation.



## NEW ROLE OF THE CIVIL SERVANT

**D**URING THE PAST two years there has been a good deal of thinking and discussion about the ways of public administration, and a growing criticism of the way the Government works. It is a healthy sign and, to some extent, it should take place. This Institute of Public Administration is itself an outcome of the feeling that public administration is a subject of great importance and that some organized thinking and study should be given to it.

There has in recent years been some rethinking about the basic concepts underlying the administrative system. This is inevitable. We are passing through a transitional phase in social and economic spheres, involving a tremendous extension of activities of the administration. We have had during the last few years many important reports, the Appleby reports, and some others, on administrative questions. We are constantly discussing these questions in Parliament when demands or activities of the Ministries come before the House.

Public administration, apart from the normal features which it should have, should be intimately concerned with public co-operation. The idea of a public servant sitting in a world apart and doling out impartial justice is completely out of place in a democratic society. It is especially so in a dynamic democratic society. The pace at which society moves forward depends on the people, and if there is no intimate connection between the public servant and the people, he will not move forward even if he is efficient. The whole conception of the public servant in India has in the past been a static conception. Doing one's job as efficiently and adequately as possible, and impartially, was the conception in British times.

As I was sitting here, I glanced through an article in the recent issue of your journal on "Civil Service Neutrality" by Mr. S. Lall. Civil service neutrality is a fiction which I have often wondered at. I have not been able to understand how any thinking person can be neutral. I know exactly what it meant in the old days, and I think it was good within limita-

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From presidential address to the fourth annual meeting of the general body of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, April 5, 1958

tions. But the way it is being displayed pompously is not only not right but wholly wrong. I can understand that a civil servant should obviously be above party politics. I also fully understand that he must, as far as possible, be a detached, objective person, considering problems in a detached and objective way, and tendering advice for accurate action. During British times there was a definite pattern of government which the British had laid down. Neutrality meant keeping oneself strictly within the lines of the pattern of government. Going outside it was tantamount to lack of neutrality. Neutrality thus, in fact, meant extreme partisanship. What was called neutrality was full acceptance of what the British Government had laid down, within the four corners of which the civil servant was to function. If a person raised his voice against the established pattern, he was supposed to be an anarchist. That a civil servant had to function within a prescribed framework is understandable. Why call it neutrality?

In a period of dynamic growth, we want as civil servants persons with minds, with vision and with a desire to achieve. We want persons who have initiative for doing a job and who can think how to do it. Can a person be neutral about the basic thing which the State stands for, namely a socialist pattern of society? Can a civil servant adequately perform functions relating to the attainment of a socialist pattern of society if he is entirely opposed to that conception? He might, to some extent, but not with any enthusiasm. If he is opposed to the very growth in that direction, he is a drag on it.

Again, our Parliament has often expressed itself against what might be called a communal approach to political problems. The Government is opposed to it. It is a point of view which either we have or do not have. Neutrality has no meaning in this context.

Under a democratic form of government, different political parties come into power at different times, and I can understand that the civil servant should not be partial to any one party. But he cannot be neutral about the basic issues. I am not quite conversant with how the civil servants in Britain adapted themselves to the advent of the Labour

Government. I happened to be in Britain about that time, and I heard the bitterest complaint from the Labour leaders about the attitude of the civil service. I remember with what extreme feeling Prof. Harold Laski spoke to me about it.

The writer of the article on "Civil Service Neutrality" says that the civil service in Britain is a model. It is an excellent service, but this fact is seldom mentioned openly in that country. Mr. Lall has arrived at the same conclusions which I have reached in my own thinking. The British concept of the civil service neutrality is a logical outcome of the political framework within which the British civil service has grown and developed. During the last century, the major issue that divided the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party in England was free trade. The civil servant was supposed to keep his hands off such party issues. Attitudes have, however, changed a lot. Some sort of State intervention is now accepted by all, whether it be the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, the ordinary citizen or the civil servant.

In India we are in a stage where future development depends upon the acceptance of certain basic assumptions and on intelligent, prompt and quick action. What is the civil servant to do in such a context? Naturally he cannot be a partisan of any one party. But must he be inactive and without any views of his own on basic matters? He will not be happy to be so, nor will anybody be happy if he is so.

I have been wondering how far at our school for the training of the I.A.S. probationers, the trainees were being taught to apply their minds in a positive way towards the consideration of certain basic things for which we stand. Certain basic issues emerged out of our struggle for freedom, and we should give the probationers the background of these issues to enable them to understand intelligently the current problems of the country. I am not in favour of too much conditioning of the mind. We must avoid any extreme effort to condition the individuals as they do in some communist countries, and also in some other countries which are not communist. Too much of it does not quite fit in with the democratic process. We must take care not to cramp pliability and individuality. There are certain major problems which

the country faces today; and whether you hold a socialist view of life or a co-operative view of life or have a communal or an anti-communal outlook, you cannot be neutral to their solution.

I venture to re-emphasize two other important aspects of the problem. One is that in the modern age the success of the public servant depends, in addition to ability, efficiency and integrity, upon his capacity to co-operate with the public. If he does not have this capacity, his efficiency is not of much use. His success in his job depends on the extent to which he can evoke public co-operation. The second aspect, to which we are at present directing our minds, is related to the training of the public servants initially in such a way as to avoid their developing an ivory-tower attitude in their careers.

### THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION ON KERALA

**I** SHALL ENDEAVOUR to the best of my ability to avoid the present excitement that comes from Kerala and to adhere to certain basic considerations which we have to keep in view.

Mr. Dange, who spoke for a fairly considerable time, with his usual fluency and ability, said many things. But I wondered how he could say so much with such little content. There were long disquisitions about democracy, about conspiracies, and about various other matters, but not much about the points at issue. His whole argument was of a deep-laid conspiracy to put an end to the Kerala Government.

The word "democracy" has been used a great deal here on every side of the House, more especially on the opposite side. Mr. Dange accused us of being—I forget his words—the murderers of democracy. A story comes to my mind of an unfortunate young man who killed his father and mother. When he was hauled up before the court he asked for clemency on the ground of being an orphan.

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From speech in Lok Sabha during debate on the resolution seeking approval of the President's Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution in regard to Kerala State, August 19, 1959

Mr. Dange referred to the disquiet among various people in India, including the members of the Congress Party, about the step taken in Kerala. He was perfectly right in mentioning this fact. The Congress Party of Parliament met for three long sessions confidentially to consider this matter when people spoke frankly and fully without any inhibitions, as they should. Why? Because the Congress Party, being wedded to democracy and constitutional procedures and having been conditioned by them, was anxious to understand why something was done which was criticized as being undemocratic. It shows the texture of the Congress Party. Even when its own Government adopted a step of this kind, it did not take it for granted. It wanted to argue. It wanted to criticize. It wanted to get at all the facts and then to decide.

We found in those long discussions for three evenings that, broadly speaking, people who knew about what had happened in Kerala—and many of them had gone there—were of one opinion. Some people who had not been there perhaps did not know all the facts and were among the original doubters. But as the facts came out during these long talks, there was no doubter left, so far as I know.

Mr. Gopalan, towards the end of his address, laid some stress on repudiating a remark which had been made that even the leaders of the Communist Party at that juncture wanted intervention. He referred to a visit which he and Mr. Ajoy Ghosh paid to me about three or four days before the Proclamation of the President. There are no secrets involved in it, but I would not have mentioned it if that had not been referred to. I stated in public later, lest there should be any misapprehension, that the Chief Minister of Kerala did not ask us to intervene. Obviously not. Mr. Ajoy Ghosh and Mr. Gopalan did not in so many words ask us to intervene. But I say definitely that they left the impression upon me that nothing would be more welcome to them than intervention.

In fact, Mr. Ajoy Ghosh and Mr. Gopalan referred to the threat which was made by the Vimochana Samara Samiti that they would go on the 9th August to the Secretariat with a large crowd of people and try to capture it. Naturally I thought this was a highly improper thing to do. But I was

asked in effect: you must stop not only that, but practically this movement; or else, the sooner you act the better. It was quite beyond my capacity to stop this tremendous movement at that stage or earlier. I could, if our Government felt inclined, meet that type of movement with the coercive apparatus of the government. But I knew that no word of mine would suddenly stop that movement at the stage it had reached. They too knew it very well. Therefore, the impression left on my mind was that the sooner this Proclamation was issued the better.

May I also say that when this Proclamation came out, there was a fair amount of disquiet in the minds of many of my colleagues in the Congress Party, but there was great relief among members of the Communist Party? I do not mean to say that they wanted Central intervention all along. But I do say that a situation had arisen which it was becoming exceedingly difficult for them to face. They were in a great difficulty. I can quite appreciate that difficulty, because any government would have been in that difficulty if it had arrived at that stage. And there was no way out of it except through Central intervention. The alternative was for the State Government to face the situation and the consequences which flow from extensive damage done, lives lost, and the ill-will raised among the people which, as reasonable politicians, they did not like. The actual words used, to my recollection, were: "If you cannot stop all this, the sooner you act the better."

MR. A. K. GOPALAN: The actual words were: "Can you tell us what is the decision you have taken? Are you going to intervene?" We wanted to know the decision taken by the Central Government.

THE PRIME MINISTER: What the hon. Member said also were the words used, not exclusively. My reply, as he has already stated, was that we had not come to a final decision, but everything was driving us in that direction.

I do submit that round about the time when this Proclamation was issued, we had arrived at a stage when there was no other way out except a holocaust or disaster on a big scale in Kerala. This was the view not only of a large number of other people; many of our Communist friends had arrived

at the same conclusion, not willingly, but by the compulsion of events. There was virtual unanimity that the Proclamation should be issued.

We are accused of some kind of a deep-laid conspiracy to get others to do things which would bring about a situation to enable us to act in this way. The conspiracy goes back to within 48 hours of the Kerala Government coming into power, when, according to Mr. S. A. Dange, Mr. Shriman Narayan went to Kerala and gave out his opinion that there was insecurity and that law and order were in danger there. Mr. S. A. Dange is not quite correct about that. Mr. Shriman Narayan went there because of a previous engagement to attend a meeting of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee. He did not make those remarks then. He made some such remarks five or six months later.

On the first occasion, what Mr. Shriman Narayan referred to were the large-scale releases of persons convicted of murder, etc., which had taken place. He said that the releases of such persons were causing a good deal of apprehension. Five or six months later, he went again to Kerala and then he said that there was a widespread feeling of insecurity. As a matter of fact, some time last year, I also ventured to say that it had come to my knowledge that there was a feeling of insecurity among the people in Kerala. There was no doubt about that. Many people felt that way. That was a widespread and growing opinion.

The House knows that last year the matter came up here on the motion of a Member from the Opposition and the Government's attitude was not to encourage a discussion of it in the House. It faded out. Not that we were not getting disquieting reports about the various happenings in Kerala. The Home Minister's personal file is full of letters from the Governor and of letters to and from the Chief Minister. The Chief Minister asked why a warning was not issued under some Article of the Constitution before the Proclamation. As a matter of fact, many times friendly letters were sent pointing out something which could be done. Sometimes the suggestions were accepted by the Chief Minister, sometimes not. Things went on.

We were disturbed. But the idea or the conception of intervention never came into our mind. We had not thought of it.

Two or three months ago, while in Ooty, I read in the papers, and got some broad reports, about frictions in Kerala. But I had no idea of how far the situation had developed. The first intimation I got about the new situation in Kerala was from a Minister of the Kerala Government. I realized from his words how serious the situation was. I remember some rather odd words he used. He said, "We have been used, in the past years, to what we call the 'Nehru crowds', which attracted so many people, but now we see the Opposition bringing such crowds on us. This is amazing; this is surprising". That remark and a number of other things which he told me impressed me that something unusual was happening in Kerala and I had not realized it. Later, other facts and impressions came to me from other sources.

Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan had announced or threatened to conduct picketing of schools or to stop the opening of schools by picketing and in other ways. This was the sole issue which came up before us; some Congressmen had come to us with the issue. We said the course was utterly and absolutely wrong. That was the advice that we gave.

We began to realize, however, that whatever advice we might or might not give, events in Kerala were gradually getting beyond any reasonable advice. It was then that, coming down from Ooty or from Coimbatore, I issued a statement in which I said that this was a big upsurge. That was the first time that I used the word.

Later, we found to our surprise that the upsurge was growing bigger and bigger. Congressmen in Kerala were prohibited from picketing schools. Individual Congressmen might have done picketing, but officially they did not do it. They did what they called token picketing, six persons performing token picketing of Government offices. We did not approve of this at all. When the matter later came up before us, we were in a difficulty, because some people had got entangled, and the movement was growing bigger and bigger. We were very anxious to check the movement, so far as direct



action and such aspects were concerned, by a progressive limitation because we realized that a command to the effect 'Don't do it' would have no effect in those circumstances. If you remember, the resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board contained a fairly strong condemnation of picketing of schools, buses etc. and in fact of all direct action of any kind. But considering the situation as it was, there was a proviso. We said: 'Get out of this entanglement; the most you can do for the present is to carry on your token picketing and then withdraw.' We wanted Congressmen to get out of it completely and to influence others also to do so. They could, if they liked, have any other demonstrations, public meetings and like things. Speaking for myself, as I stated previously, I was against all this direct action. With all deference to everybody concerned, I may say that there was no *satyagraha* in Kerala, because I have seldom seen any place so thick with hatred and incipient violence. It was a case of thick walls of group hatred everywhere.

Mr. A. K. Gopalan referred to my going to Kerala. I had vaguely thought of going to Kerala earlier. But the Chief Minister said publicly that for the moment he was not anxious that I should go there. So I did not decide on the question of my going then. Later in the month he wrote to me that he would like me to go there. I went there, for three days.

Mr. A. K. Gopalan referred to an organized demonstration when I went there. Of course, it was an organized demonstration. But organized demonstrations are of various types, sizes, tempers, etc. and to some extent I judge by them. I could realize that it was conceivable that a rival demonstration could also be organized, if not on that scale, but big enough. I spent those three days there, talking to hundreds of people. I met them in groups and as individuals. I had long talks with the Ministers of the Kerala Government. But more than holding those talks, I was trying to sense the public and the public events, meetings, crowds and demonstrations. The impression grew upon me that the situation in Kerala was much worse than what I had thought it was. There was absolutely no meeting ground left between the rival groups, big or small, and the bitterness and hatred and anger towards

each other was prodigious. I was amazed. I criticized direct action wherever I spoke, but the problem before me was not to give a philosophical opinion but how to deal with a particularly difficult situation.

In regard to the Education Act, I suggested the holding of talks which might do some good. But the Education Act had long ceased to be the central issue. Therefore I suggested to the Chief Minister and the other Ministers of the Kerala Government that their only way out was a general election, not Central intervention, but an election asked for by them. I saw no alternative. It was a hysterical situation. Everybody was in a state of hysteria. There was hysteria, anger and hatred and the breaking out of violence. I was aiming at some disengagement. After I came back here, on two or three occasions I repeated the suggestion in a press conference or in a letter to the Chief Minister and in various other ways.

There were two alternative courses open. One was to try to crush the agitation by coercive methods. I did not think it was feasible; the cost would have been frightful and the consequences would have been even more frightful. The Kerala Ministers said that if this was done, the whole movement would fade away. I think they were quite wrong, at that stage of the movement anyway. The other alternative was for the agitation to continue, which also was terrible, because government, as it was, became impossible.

So I saw no outlet except some disengagement and I thought that the only way of disengagement was elections. I would again point out that elections did not mean Presidential Proclamation at all. It would have been more or less on the Government's initiative, an advantage to them in many ways. I stuck to this advice to the last. Once or twice I thought that here was a possibility of their accepting the advice. Ultimately they did not. They knew that the alternative to election was Presidential Proclamation and elections. I have no doubt that they must have considered this choice carefully and long. And they came to the conclusion, I imagine, that asking for elections would be some kind of a confession of failure and they would not be able to blame the Central Government. I presume their thinking was:

'We will stick to the end. The thing will come. Then we can hold the banner of democracy against the Central Government.'

It has been repeatedly said that under Articles 352, 353 or 355 of the Constitution, we should have helped the State Government. It is not quite clear to me what is meant by that. Even before the President's Proclamation I put it straight to the Chief Minister what kind of help he expected from us. He never asked for any kind of help which we did not give. He said: "We are thinking in terms of moral help and not physical help", in the sense that we should have condemned the movement much more strongly than we did. I did condemn it. I did not condemn the expression of the people's will. I condemned the form of the movement because in my opinion a movement which was full of anger and hatred could not be called *satyagraha*.

Just after a year of the coming into power of the Communist Government in Kerala, the Chief Minister delivered a speech which attracted a good deal of attention at the time. The speech was interesting, in the sense of revealing the working of the mind behind it. I have got a note about the speech. 'The Chief Minister of Kerala warned the Opposition parties that if they jointly tried to oust the Communist Kerala Government, it would divide the people into two camps and create disruption in the country. This, Mr. Namboodiripad felt, would inevitably lead to a situation in which the two contending groups would be forced to embark on a policy of mutual annihilation leading to a national tragedy. It was a similar situation, he added, that led to the protracted civil war in China.'

This speech was delivered on the 31st May, 1958, more than a year ago. I attached really no importance at that time to the civil war part of the speech and to his thinking of everybody else combining against his Government. This attitude of the Communist Party and its supporters being one group against everybody else, the selected and the elect facing the others who have the presumption to come together to oppose them, is a line of thinking which seems to be slightly odd.

The fact is that in Kerala a situation arose when not

only all the Opposition groups but the people, who belong to no groups, joined together against the Government and their supporters. And in a sense, we had the very situation which the Chief Minister had referred to, namely two contending groups facing each other. This situation was, in fact, created. Sometimes even leading members of one group talked in amazing terms of annihilating the other group as if it was conceivable or at all possible. But it showed to what extent the feelings had gone.

When I met some members of the Kerala Government I put it to them: "How is it that you have managed to have everybody against you?—meaning all parties outside your group and your supporters including even some people who call themselves Marxists or Revolutionary Marxists or Socialists. By what alchemy have you made all these people your opponents?" I said this was an astonishing failure on their part. I was referring to the governmental measures. I do not think they gave me an adequate answer. I do not think it is an adequate answer to say that the communal institutions, the capitalists, the Nairs and the other people abused and misused the people and incited them to do this. I have no doubt that in the present instance the non-political groups, such as they are in Kerala, had all shifted over to the Opposition.

The other day, Mr. Gopalan wanted to put in an adjournment motion about something which, according to him, was happening. Some attacks were being made on the Communists in Kerala. Some of the statements had probably some truth in them. I tried to enquire into every one of them. I found some had no basis; some had some truth. There is the other side. A number of messages, telegrams and letters have been coming in about attacks by Communists on the others. Only two or three days ago, one of the oldest persons I know in Kerala, a friend and colleague with whom I stayed 29 years ago at Trichur, Kuroor Namboodiripad, was pulled out of his car by people who are described as Communists. He was going to attend the celebration of Independence Day or coming back from it. He was given a thrashing. He was rescued and taken to a hospital and he is still in hospital. I

want you to visualize this picture in Kerala, of tremendous anger, hatred, discontent. It was polarization of two groups. Here was not only a tendency to use knives but the actual use of knives. It was a situation of grave danger. It was not a question of crowds. Because of this we felt that something should be done to stop it, and we took this action. We advised the President, rather, to take this action. We might as well have waited because every day that we waited would have made the justification of that action greater. But that would not have been proper. That would have been at the cost of the people of Kerala and at the cost of greater bitterness and conflict.

Ever since this action was taken, the situation has been infinitely better. I do not suggest that there is complete peace all over Kerala. But, broadly speaking, the people have quietened down and they are getting out of the terrific condition which they are in.

I do not think that this is the time or occasion for us to discuss communism or Marxism or even the wider implications of the communist parties in the world or even the Party here. I think that what may be called communist theory is rather out of date. Mr. Dange said that he objected to being told that he, meaning a Communist, had no roots in this country. That charge, not referring to any particular individual, has a very great deal of relevance to the group. That is the basic difficulty. We may agree with the economic theory or we may not agree with it. We may vary it as even communist countries are varying it—but not the Communists outside the communist countries. Not having roots is a dangerous thing. Not having roots, one's power is not easily used for the basic task of construction. It is used for destruction. This applies not to India only but to other countries. It is only on the roots, cultural, national or basic, that we may add anything from outside.

Those of us who are interested in history have read about crusading religions full of vitality and of a desire to conquer and convert the whole world. These religions showed considerable results, but they gradually toned down. The world still remains multi-religious; no single religion has

conquered the world in spite of the armies, the faith, the energy and the crusading spirit. The irate impulses that come to the world from time to time for doing good sometimes upset things and bring in a bit of evil, but gradually they adapt themselves. This process goes on, whether it is communism or anything else. It is only people who take a narrower view, whether they are Communists or anti-Communists, who prevent the growth of these normal and natural forces.

### **PANCHAYATI RAJ, A HISTORIC STEP**

**W**E ARE GOING to lay the foundations of democracy or panchayati raj in our country.

Rajasthan is the heart of India, historically as well as geographically. The people of Rajasthan, who live in villages and towns, have pledged themselves to take upon themselves the heavy responsibilities of democracy and the Government of this State has, by an Act of Legislature, handed over the responsibilities to the people. It is a historic event. It is fitting that the programme of panchayati raj should be inaugurated on Mahatma Gandhi's birthday.

After we became independent we established the rule of the people. Every citizen of India was given the right of vote. The people enjoyed the right to elect their representatives to the State legislatures and to Lok Sabha. It was a step in the right direction, but real democracy did not come into being with it. India will make progress only when the people living in the villages become politically conscious. The progress of our country is bound up with the progress in our villages. If our villages make progress, India will become a strong nation and nobody will be able to stop its onward march.

It was seven years ago that we started this great movement with the Community Projects and the National

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From speech in Hindi at Nagaur in Rajasthan on the occasion of the inauguration of panchayati raj in the State, October 2, 1959

Extension Service. These have by now covered more than three lakh villages. On the whole good work has been done. But we have not been able to do as much as we expected. The reason for our slow progress is our dependence on official machinery. An officer, who is an expert, may help but development work can be executed only if the people take the responsibility in their own hands. Some people thought that if the responsibility was handed over to the people, they would probably not be able to shoulder it. But it is only by providing opportunity to the people that they can be trained to shoulder responsibilities. It became imperative that a bold step be taken whereby more and more responsibility could be transferred to the people. The people were not merely to be consulted but effective power was to be entrusted to them.

Therefore, we decided that in every village there should be a village panchayat with more powers, as also a co-operative society which will help its economic effort.

The panchayat is to help in the day-to-day administration of the village and the co-operative is to manage its economic affairs. The responsibilities of administration should not be only in the hands of big officials but should be divided among our 400 million people. We should bring the people together to act in co-operation and in consultation with each other.

The third important institution which we need in our villages is the school. Every village should have a school so that the villagers should be able to receive education. And women should get equal opportunities for education.

We are now in our Second Five Year Plan. It will come to an end after a year or so. The Third Five Year Plan is in the making. The time has come when the responsibility for planning and executing development schemes should be entrusted to the people. I shall, therefore, ask you to shoulder such responsibility with faith and courage. The people of India are looking towards you. I am fully confident that not only in Rajasthan but in every part of India where responsibility is entrusted to the people, it will yield happy results.

You have taken a historic step on an auspicious day and I congratulate you and offer my good wishes. You should try to make your panchayats a success.

Formerly in India the maharajas and their people were divided into water-tight compartments but now the distinction between the rulers and the ruled has been removed. Nevertheless sometimes our officers consider themselves to be masters. I hope that your presidents, Sarpanches and other officers will not function in that way. An officer who becomes overbearing and employs bureaucratic methods will not be able to win the co-operation of the people. A good officer works in a spirit of equality. It is only then that he can train others. You should work in mutual co-operation. In political life everyone has a vote; in economic matters everyone has equal opportunities; in our panchayats also everyone should be considered equal; there should be no distinction between man and woman, high and low. We have to march ahead in a spirit of unity and brotherhood and with faith in our work and ourselves.

The world is watching you. If you flinch from your determination and get involved in mutual quarrels and petty factions, you will not be able to succeed in your mission. You have to awaken the masses of Rajasthan, and it will be a great step. The future generations will be able to say with pride that you laid the solid foundations of democracy.

### FORMATION OF MAHARASHTRA AND GUJARAT

YOU ARE REJOICING today, and I am glad to join you in your rejoicing. At this moment we should also think of the responsibilities cast on us by the event which has brought in this sense of rejoicing.

You talk of a united Maharashtra. For some time past we have been devoting all our attention to a larger problem, namely how to keep a united India. We have problems in regard to our frontiers. We have amongst us persons who speak of secession of parts of India. And the problem of Goa



remains although the problem of Pondicherry has more or less been solved.

While you are happy at the formation of Maharashtra, you have to remember that you live in a united India. The responsibility for India's well-being and defence rests on you, as on others. As long as our country does not get rid of poverty and does not progress, it can hardly be strong in its own defence. Economic programmes are important, but ultimately the country's progress depends on the devotion, hard work and training of the men and women who live in it. Above all, it depends on how we cast away our differences and work in unity to reach our objective.

A new State has been formed and Maharashtra is a beautiful State. But in one part of this beautiful State there is a little sadness amidst the rejoicing, and I am sorry to hear about it. I refer to Vidarbha, which has taken a gallant part in our struggle for independence. On a day when all are rejoicing, the people of Vidarbha cling to their doubts and reservations. It is for the people of Maharashtra to remove their doubts and anxieties. The people of Vidarbha have also to work for the prosperity of united Maharashtra, and I appeal to them to do so.

The proper way to celebrate a good day is to make a good resolution for the future. The resolution which you can make is to carry our country forward at a brisk pace. This is not the occasion to exaggerate our petty quarrels or to get entangled in small problems. We had made resolutions during the struggle for our freedom and the people of India have largely lived up to those resolutions. The problems now before us are no less important. I referred earlier to the problem in regard to our frontiers. However, the big struggle which we have to wage lies within ourselves. Every person in India has to fight the battle within himself or herself, against one's weaknesses. We have to breathe a new spirit into India and create a new atmosphere helpful to our progress.

After a long time, maybe two hundred years or so, a portion of the Presidency of Bombay is separating into Maharashtra and Gujarat. The little trouble that had arisen

and the little pain that it caused should be forgotten. Maharashtra and Gujarat have been neighbours for thousands of years. Both are parts of India. At this time when the two are becoming separate entities, I would like to remind you that the separation is taking place in an atmosphere of mutual co-operation. This is as it should be, and the two States should always be friendly.

This principle is all the more important in the case of the city of Bombay. The city of Bombay is the capital of Maharashtra, but it is much more. It is India's western metropolis, so to speak, and is a portion of the whole of India. People from all over the country have come here and have added to its importance by their hard work. Maharashtra had a hand in its growth, but the others also had their share. It is now like a garden of a myriad flowers.

I would like you amidst this rejoicing to contemplate on what you should do to serve Maharashtra. Serving Maharashtra is not different from serving India. On this auspicious day, you have to resolve that you will go forward and win the war against poverty in which we are engaged. That will be the greatest service you can render to Maharashtra and to India.

### THE CALL OF DUTY

MUCH HAS BEEN said about the proposed general strike by some of the employees of the Central Government in various activities.

In my opinion, where the interests, the safety and the future of India are concerned, no argument can outweigh them. Therefore, I believe that even if our Government was wrong in any decisions which it may have made, nothing that has happened or can happen can justify such a general strike which may well deal a dangerous blow to our country.

Think of it. Our soldiers stand in the high mountains, braving the elements and human dangers, defending India's borders. Are we to stop sending food and supplies to them? That would be the result of a successful strike. Are we to stop movements of foodgrains across our country to places where they are needed? Would that be a service to our people? Are we to stop or delay the movement of coal and many other articles which are necessary for the functioning of our industry, and even of our agriculture? How can any argument justify this attack on our people and our country as a whole?

The other day the draft of the Third Five Year Plan was issued for public comment. The Plan aims high and demands the utmost effort of all our people so that we may emerge from the valley of the shadow of poverty to the bright sunlight of welfare. Is the response to this to be to sabotage this whole effort and to delay indefinitely the realization of our dream?

A general strike of this kind can never be justified. The proposed strike is not a normal industrial dispute but something different in quality and different in intent. The success of it would bring no betterment for anybody but only chaotic conditions. Only those who want to bring about these conditions in the country and thus to delay any progress in the foreseeable future can welcome it.

What are the reasons advanced for such a strike and what are the demands made? The principal demands are for a minimum wage which may go up to Rs. 125 and a linking of the dearness allowance with the price index.

A high-powered Pay Commission under the chairmanship of an eminent judge of the Supreme Court was appointed, and they considered these matters at great length. It would in any event have been unbecoming for the Government or for anyone to discard the recommendations of this Pay Commission. We have accepted them, or their main recommendations which have a financial bearing.

According to the Pay Commission's advice, the minimum wage has been raised by Rs. 10 to Rs. 80 and many other benefits have also been conferred in regard to annual

increments, etc. The acceptance of these recommendations of the Pay Commission is going to add Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 crores a year to the Central Government's expenditure. If we were to accept the demands being made upon us now, this would mean an additional 80 to possibly 100 crores of rupees per annum. Besides it would inevitably have repercussions on employes of the State Governments whose salaries and emoluments compare unfavourably with those of Central Government employees. In effect, therefore, the additional expenditure might well be Rs. 150 crores per annum apart from what we have already agreed to. In the Five Year Plan, this would mean about Rs. 700 crores or more.

We recognize fully that the Government must be a good employer and that our employees must be given a fair deal and conditions of life which enable them to work effectively and happily. We have tried our best to ensure this and we shall go on doing so in the future. Ultimately, however, what we can afford depends on the expansion of our economy and the growth of our production and wealth. It depends on the hard work we put in. It is for this reason that we draw up our Five Year Plans which will bring increasing welfare to the Government's employees as well as to the people at large.

The Government have a duty to their employees; they have also a duty to the community at large. So indeed, have the employees of the Government, for they are not merely salary and wage-earners. They have the privilege of being engaged in the high task of building a new India. They have to look upon their work in this light, and they have to consider their own welfare in terms of the welfare of the whole country. The moment they isolate themselves from the rest of the country and its growth, and think only narrowly of some immediate benefit even at the cost of the nation's growth, they have misconceived their work and they have ultimately done injury to themselves.

I do feel, therefore, that this proposal for a general strike is irresponsible and harmful. It may well let loose forces which will do great injury to our nation. More particularly, at this time when we have to face crucial problems. I cannot understand how any person can lightly think of a step of this kind.

for it is a step not for construction or progress, but one which can only lead to destructive forces being let loose.

We have already accepted the major recommendations of the Pay Commission, and we are prepared to accept a number of other recommendations which will be of considerable help to Government employees, in regard to gratuities, leave, travel concessions, house rent and other matters. Indeed, we are prepared to give favourable consideration to any of the Commission's recommendations involving financial consequences. We are also anxious that there should be a proper method for the implementation of the decisions made, and that arrangements should be made for joint consultation and negotiation between representatives of the Government and employees in regard to implementation.

The Government is anxious to give a fair deal to its employees and to confer with and consult them through appropriate machinery. But I think that the proposal of strike in regard to services which are of essential importance to the public is wholly out of date and improper. The Government and its employees are the servants of the public, and none of us has a right to inconvenience or do harm to the great public whom we are supposed to serve. Therefore, we should devise adequate machinery for the quick and satisfactory settlement of any disputes that may arise from time to time, and not rely on these out-of-date methods of strike or lock-out.

I appeal to you, therefore, to look at this broad picture of our great country in travail, trying with all its might to march forward to prosperity. Do not do anything which might come in the way of this great adventure. And remember always those countrymen of ours who stand as sentinels on those high mountain peaks, relying on us here to back them up and to give them all the help and support that we can. Let us adopt methods of peaceful consultations to settle such problems as may arise.

## POSITION OF THE UNION PRESIDENT

**Q**UESTION: HAVE YOU any comments about the President's suggestion to the Law Institute that the Constitution is not very clear as to whether he is bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** First of all, it is embarrassing for me to discuss the President. But since the matter has been discussed so much and since you are asking me, let me say that I rather doubt if the President himself attached much value to this point. If you look up the reports of the Constituent Assembly, you will find our President, who was the President of the Constituent Assembly, had himself discussed this matter at some length and given his opinion on it, even then.

**Q**UESTION: You have said that the President is the constitutional head. Was the speech made with the advice of the Council of Ministers? Does the Council of Ministers propose to accept responsibility for the speech?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** The President has always acted as a constitutional head. The President functions in many places, and if there is anything in the nature of a formal speech on a formal occasion, the Government is responsible for it. Others naturally depend on his own judgment. So far as this particular speech was concerned, we did not know anything about it till it was delivered.

**Q**UESTION: Do the Governors exercise the same power and position as the President? The Governors have raised this question of getting or exercising more powers at the recent conference of Governors.

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** Do not catch me up if I say something which is not quite correct. Under our Constitution, the Governors have no executive authority whatever. They are constitutional heads. Of course, all these are legal approaches. In all positions of authority the person counts and he can, without the slightest deviation from the strict letter of the law, affect people's minds. The Governors can by discussing a matter with the Chief Minister and Ministers possibly make

a difference. But they cannot overrule anything that the Government wants to do.

QUESTION: Since some doubts have been expressed about the interpretation of the particular Article of the Constitution, would you like to make the intention clear through an amendment of the Article? I am referring to the Article dealing with advice.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not think so. We have been functioning now for ten years and more. We have modelled our Constitution on the parliamentary system and not on what is called the presidential system, although we have copied or rather adapted many provisions of the U.S. Constitution because ours is a federal Constitution. Essentially our Constitution is based on the U.K. parliamentary model. That is the basic thing. In fact, it is stated that wherever it does not expressly say anything, we should follow the practice of the House of Commons in the U.K.

QUESTION: Do you think that under the Indian Constitution, the President is like the British Crown?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I hope not. If I may say so with all respect to the British Crown—and the British Sovereign is coming to India as our guest—my answer to the question is, politically “Yes”, and constitutionally “Yes”, but not in the sense of the courtly atmosphere that surrounds the British Crown.

## FUNCTIONS OF NEWSPAPERS

WHAT DOES A democratic government want from a newspaper? I think normally a government likes or should like criticism from a newspaper. It does not matter how hard the criticism is, provided it is free from malice and ill-will. Criticism is a necessary thing. Criticism, to be worth-while, must have depth.

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From speech at the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, New Delhi February 25, 1961

A government would like the newspapers to help, apart from discussing major issues, in bringing before the public the activities of the nation, like the Five Year Plans, and in maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the advance of the country and to the consideration of the big problems before it. It is really a test of a newspaper how far it can think of big things or how far it is led away by petty things. It is as well a test of the people at large. We would naturally like the newspapers to help generally the good causes in the country and to discourage the evil and the wrong tendencies.

The average reader of a newspaper does not really mind what a newspaper writes on a political or an economic issue. He will take it as the viewpoint of a particular individual or a group, and he may agree or disagree with it. He may be affected or not affected by it but he is not excited by it and is not made suddenly to lose his reason and act in a dangerous, harmful way. But when a newspaper gives a false item of news through big headlines which rouse passionate feelings, it can do a great deal of mischief. If the newspaper gives it a communal turn, all the logical capacity of the mind stops functioning somehow and illogical anger comes up. Therefore in such matters the responsibility of the newspaper becomes very great indeed.

Take the recent happenings in Jabalpur and in some other places of Madhya Pradesh. I am told that some local newspapers gave utterly perverted, distorted and exaggerated accounts which upset the people there. It is wrong of the people to get upset, but the Jabalpur events show that in an atmosphere charged with tension, the right or wrong approach of a newspaper can make a great deal of difference.

I do not mind really if the men and women of the press do not fall in line with my thinking on various political matters but I do mind very much if where they should be among thinking people they are not so. I have put this to you forcibly, because I want this sort of thing to end. If a headline or an article is such that it creates public disorder in a big way, it should not obviously be tolerated by anyone. It should be the duty of responsible newspapers to avoid doing such a thing. I want them to go even beyond that. They should create a



proper atmosphere in the newspaper world so that such a thing cannot happen and that the newspaper editors and others responsible will see to it that it does not happen. I hope that you will give consideration to this matter.

Like most things in the world, newspapers are undergoing changes. Only recently there was much talk in England of the gradual absorption of newspapers by some growing combines, with the result that there are fewer independent newspapers left outside the major combines. I still have some old-fashioned, nineteenth century ideas about newspapers, and I do not like large chains of newspapers or combines concentrating on mass circulations and mass indoctrination. I do not think it fits in with my thinking or the old democratic conception of society. It is obvious that such concentration comes in the way of a free press. This tendency, which is seen in most democratic countries, although it has not developed very far in India, is on the whole unfortunate and undesirable. It perhaps helps in bringing out technically a better and a fuller paper. The reader gets his money's worth even in the weight of paper. But the contents may not be very elevating, as with all mass production.

We are entering a phase in India when the newspaper-reading public will grow fast. This growth will mainly be in the language newspapers. Even the English newspapers may grow, but not so fast as those in Hindi or Bengali or Gujarati or Tamil or Marathi or other languages or such of them as are wise enough to adapt themselves to the requirements of the public. I say wise enough, because as I have often said, the normal Hindi newspaper editor is not wise enough yet. I refer to the language he uses, which is rather addressed to an elite readership which can understand difficult words and phrases. Probably the editor is anxious to show off his erudition. Thereby he misses catching that public which wants to read and to know but does not quite understand learned language. It is that public which is growing up in India, as in every country after a spell of primary compulsory education. I should like attention to be paid to such basic matters.

The newspaper is evolving in such a way that nobody can foresee the future. In the ultimate analysis, its evolution is

governed very considerably by technological changes. I want these changes, and I am sure they will come to India. But an apprehension comes into my mind about certain basic standards not being maintained. If these basic standards go to pieces, then the changes that come will start on completely wrong foundations and lead us perhaps in very wrong directions. The responsibility of newspapers and writers in newspapers is greater than that of many other people who try to mould public opinion. I should like you, therefore, to lay stress on the basic aspects and on the constructive side of things which are being done.

### CREATION OF THE STATE OF NAGALAND

ALMOST EXACTLY TWO years ago, I made a statement in the House in regard to Nagaland and in regard to a certain agreement which had been arrived at with the leaders of the Naga Convention. What we are doing today is in continuation of that agreement. The agreement has been acted upon during these two years, to the extent it could be, without having an amendment of the Constitution.

We would have had these Bills earlier but for the fact that the situation in Nagaland has not been normal, as the House knows, and we wanted it to approach normality before we took this step. The Provisional Council of Nagaland which was formed as a result of the agreement has been functioning, on the whole, with success. As they desired that further steps should be taken, we thought that the time had come to implement fully the agreement of two years ago.

In effect this House had accepted the basic point which these Bills raise, that is, the creation of Nagaland with certain powers, apart from the details which are given in the Bills. We have acted upon that acceptance during this period.

I am happy to be able to move this amendment because

Statement in Lok Sabha while moving Bills for the creation of the State of Nagaland, August 28, 1962

it is in continuation of the policy which we have followed throughout in regard to Nagaland. We have never relied merely on using military forces to deal with the situation there, although, unhappily, we had to use them because of the activities of certain hostile elements. We have always made a political approach in order to make these people our friends and citizens of India.

After the transfer of power in 1947, the Naga Hills district and the Tuensang district were incorporated in the North-East Frontier Agency, and they were included in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

• Later, some people in Nagaland area organized armed resistance, and more, there was a succession of murders, forcible exactions, arson, etc. With great reluctance we had to take military measures or police measures to deal with the situation. Our military and police forces and the Assam Rifles have had an exceedingly difficult time there, in the sense that they had to be held back so that innocent people might not suffer. Occasionally, some innocent people did suffer. We are sorry for that. We even took steps to punish those, namely our forces who were guilty, although they might have been innocently guilty. In spite of all this, the kind of propaganda that has been made by Mr. Phizo and some of his lieutenants has been quite extraordinary and quite outrageous in its character. I do wish to pay a tribute to the general behaviour of our Army and the Assam Rifles in these hills in the face of exceedingly difficult circumstances.

The difficulties increased. The terrain was also very difficult. There is a frontier with Burma. The hostile Nagas used to retreat to the other side of the frontier where we could not follow them. They found shelter there and came back when they could. This went on for some time. The people of Nagaland became exceedingly weary of the suffering which they underwent and the exactions which were made from them by the hostile elements, and they gathered together in a big convention. It was in 1957. The first demand they made was that the Naga Hills area and the Tuensang Division should be made into a separate unit under the External Affairs Ministry. We acceded to the demand, so that although in

theory and constitutionally these areas were still parts of Assam State, they were made into a separate unit under the External Affairs Ministry, that is, under the Government of India. This has continued since then.

I wish to draw special attention to the fact that this has remained a separate unit, because now that it is proposed to form the State of Nagaland, it is largely renaming the area plus giving some powers. The unit has been separate for several years. It is not being created. It has been separate by the decision of Parliament and it has functioned as such. These Bills intend to rename it—even the naming has practically been done—and to give it certain effect. The separation from Assam took place in December 1957, and that was accompanied by a general amnesty for the release of convicts and under-trial prisoners responsible for offences against the State.

A second convention of the Naga people was held in May 1958. They went to the extent of appointing a liaison committee to contact and win over the misguided Nagas in support of the convention's policy of securing the maximum autonomy for the areas inhabited by the Nagas in order that they could share the responsibilities of the government of Nagaland. This effort, however, did not meet with success.

A third convention was held in Mekokchung in October 1958, and this prepared a 16-point memorandum for the consideration of the Government. The main demand was for the constitution of a separate State within the Indian Union to be known as Nagaland. A delegation under the leadership of Dr. Imkongliba Ao, president of the convention, met me two years ago in July 1960. That resulted in the agreement to which I referred at the beginning and the matter being subsequently placed before Parliament. A Council was formed and during the last two years it has been functioning as a preliminary to the change-over, and the Governor, although in law he had authority, has acted in accordance with the wishes of the Council of the Nagas.

The House may remember the tragedy when Dr. Imkongliba Ao was shot down by some of the hostiles. That indicates the kind of people the hostiles are. They shot down

a great leader of the Nagas who himself had at one time supported them but had subsequently worked for an agreement and for peace and harmony there.

In the agreement which was arrived at, there was a transitional period, as desired by the Naga leaders themselves, during which an Interim Body consisting of 45 members chosen from the tribes of Nagaland and a Council of not more than five members from the Interim Body were to be constituted to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland. These interim arrangements were brought into force and have been functioning satisfactorily.

- Elections to the village, range and tribal councils were held and the administration of Nagaland has increasingly become the responsibility of the representatives of the Naga people themselves.

The State of Nagaland Bill which we are considering has certain special provisions. One is that for the time being the Governor will have special powers in regard to law and order and finance, but as soon as the situation is normal, it will not be so. That can be declared by the President. As for finances, the actual income of Nagaland is very little at present. It could be more. The Government of India has been spending a large sum of money on welfare schemes, and we thought that the Governor should have special powers to see that the finances were not misused. The special clauses have been made by the Naga leaders. As soon as the situation improves, the Ministry which will be in existence in Nagaland will be in charge completely.

The Tuensang Division or District of the State of Nagaland has been treated separately. The Tuensang representatives wanted it to be treated separately and the Naga representatives who had come to the convention agreed to that. This area is somewhat more backward than the other two districts of Nagaland. Therefore it has been decided that this area will have a Regional Council and the Governor will play a little greater part in that area for the first ten years, the period being shortened if necessary.

It is proposed that the Governor of Nagaland will also be the Governor of Assam, or the other way about. The

Governor of Assam will be the Governor of Nagaland, but he will be there not as Governor of Assam but as Governor of Nagaland. The High Court of Assam will continue to function for Nagaland.

We do not wish to interfere with Naga tribal customs and tribal ways of justice; therefore we have left these tribal laws intact. Their tribal councils will deal with them.

By these Bills we take an important step, that is, we add to the number of the autonomous States of the Indian Union. The State, for the time being, will have certain restrictions on its autonomy; otherwise, it will be a full State of the Union. In course of time, as the situation returns to normality, it will have all the other powers of a State of the Indian Union. Considering the background of trouble we have had in the area, it is a happy consummation that we solve this question not purely by military means but by this political and friendly approach.

### A SPONTANEOUS RESPONSE

WE AS A nation have been conditioned in a democratic and peaceful manner. This conditioning is opposed to the type of conditioning which a country like China has had, especially in the last dozen years or so. Even previously for 30 years, China has been in a sense at war, and it has constantly put forward the idea of war. We have, on the other hand, constantly spoken about peace and we are, in spite of using excited language sometimes, a peaceful people and we have pleaded for peace in our own country and all over the world. Naturally that conditioning is different from the conditioning which China has had. Having so conditioned their people, the Chinese Government can turn the people's thinking in any direction they choose.

Democratic countries cannot normally behave like this.

From speech in Rajya Sabha during debate on the resolution on Chinese aggression, November 9, 1962

In India we have to face the new situation against a background of democratic freedoms. To some extent, these freedoms have to be limited. There is the Defence of India Ordinance which is not functioning wholly as it is meant to. We do not like to enforce even the Defence of India Ordinance unless we are forced to do it. At the moment we are inhibited in acting, even in regard to stopping a man from writing or publishing something. But in China there is a completely regimented apparatus controlling private life and public life. That may be helpful in a war effort, but I do not think it is helpful ultimately.

I do think that a democratic background is ultimately the stronger of the two. You have had a glimpse of such strength even in the last two or three weeks in India in the wonderful response which we have had from our people. That is not a regimented response. That is a spontaneous response which has come out of the people's minds and hearts. It does show that our fifteen-year-old democracy has taken roots in the people. They may quarrel with each other and make all kinds of demands, but when they see that there is a danger to their democratic set-up, they respond in the manner in which they have done. That is a very healthy sign. That is a very hopeful sign which has heartened all of us.

So I do think that the democratic apparatus is ultimately good even from the point of view of war, provided the apparatus and everything else is not swept away at the first rush. We can be sure that it will not be swept away. Therefore, it becomes a question of utilizing people's enthusiasm in a democratic manner with such limitations as war imposes upon us and directing it to defend the country. We have to think from a long-term view. It should not be a case of losing our breath too soon. We may have to run long, long distances, and we have to carry on with determination and with fortitude for a long, long time.

### **CROSSING THE BARRIER OF POVERTY**

I AM NOT a preacher. Nevertheless I should like to take a text for my address, a well-known Biblical text:

For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.

I am quoting this to draw your attention to certain basic trends in societies as they exist today.

Economically considered, there are three groups of countries. First, there are those nations which are very prosperous and which have solved the problems of production and generally the problems of a Welfare State. Among these nations are the United States of America, Canada, some countries of Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand. The Soviet Union can certainly be included in that category, though not perhaps to the same extent. To some extent Japan might also be included in that group, though not quite at the same level. Secondly, there are a number of countries which may be called the middle countries. Thirdly, we have a vast number of countries which are called the under-developed countries where standards of living are terribly low.

If we look at the past ten or twelve years since the war when there has been a new consciousness about dealing with the problems of under-developed countries, we find that the gap between the developed countries and the under-developed countries has become larger and larger. Those that have have had more given to them. And those that did not have have fallen back or, even if they have improved very slightly, the gap has become larger. In other words, the developed country has developed the capacity for greater growth and

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From speech at the golden jubilee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, February 3, 1958



progress, while the under-developed country struggles hard and makes good in a small way.

We find the same trend within a nation. The more developed region in a country tends to grow faster. The less developed region either does not grow at all or grows at a snail's pace.

The person who is poor cannot, because he is poor, work hard and efficiently and therefore his capacity to work becomes less and less. Poverty pulls him back and he does not make progress. On the other hand, the person who enjoys good health, good education and good surroundings increases his capacity for work and produces more and more. The result is that so far as normal economic forces at work are concerned, they tend constantly to widen the gap between the well-to-do and those who are not well-to-do. This applies to countries as to individuals. The blind forces of the market are always widening the gap, whether they operate internationally or nationally or regionally.

This deeply concerns us. We are struggling to get out of the morass of poverty, and to reach the stage of what is called "the take-off" into sustained economic growth. We want to cross the barrier of poverty and reach the stage where growth becomes relatively spontaneous. The under-developed country is on this side of the barrier. There are certain cumulative processes at work which, in a developed country, tend to encourage its growth further and further and which, in an under-developed country, pull it back all the time. The poor becomes poorer. Poverty becomes its own curse. It repeats itself. Under-development repeats itself.

The development of modern nations of the Western world took place at a time when democracy as we know it today did not exist. The pressures from the people did not come to the surface. When people are politically conscious they make demands. The common mass of humanity does not agree to bear the cost of progress at the cost of its own starvation. A very eminent observer said that if democracy as England has today had existed in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the growth of British industry would not have taken place or would have taken place at a very slow

pace. In India we have full-blooded democracy and side by side we have all the unhappy brood of poverty. It is frightfully difficult to add to the burden of that vast humanity in India in order to secure the savings that progress requires. This could have been done in a State where democracy did not function in full measure. So we come back to the basic problem of cumulative forces dragging down the under-developed country and widening the gap. How are we to reduce the gap? Basically, the gap becomes less by State intervention. If we leave it to the blind forces of the market, it does not grow less but becomes larger.

Private enterprise is a good thing. But private enterprise at it was known in the nineteenth century is dead or ought to be dead. It is not a question of the merit or demerit of an individual. We have to take note of the spirit of the age. We have to face the particular problem of breaking through those tendencies which make a poor country poorer. If left to normal forces under the capitalist system, there is no doubt at all that the poor will get poorer and a handful of the rich richer. It is true that the State will intervene. From the riches of the rich it will provide the poor with education, health, housing and other amenities. But such interference does not solve the basic difficulty of a system which widens the gap.

Planning is essentially a process whereby we stop those cumulative forces at work which make the poor poorer, and start a new series of cumulative forces which make them get over that difficulty. We have to plan at both ends. We have to stop the cumulative forces which make the rich richer and we have to start the cumulative forces which enable the poor to get over the barrier of poverty. In Russia this was done, but at a terrific cost in human suffering. The problem which we have to face is how to cross the barrier of poverty without paying that terrible cost and without infringing individual freedom.

India is an under-developed country, considering its vast potential. At the same time, it is probably more developed than most of the undeveloped countries. Its economy is gaining an element of dynamism, which is a prelude to the next stage of self-growth.



*Lighting a 'deep' to inaugurate panchayati raj in Rajasthan. Nagaur, October 1959*



*Addressing the second All-India  
Conference of Planning Forums,  
New Delhi, December 1958*



*Inaugurating the sixth International  
Conference on Planned Parenthood, New  
Delhi, February 1959*



*The Third Five Year Plan being signed by the Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Deputy Chairman, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda*

*Inaugurating the Asian Economic Planners' Conference, New Delhi, September 1961*



We are of course being helped by other countries. We have received help from the United States, from Germany and the Soviet Union. And we are grateful. Help from other countries is useful, and in their own time all the great countries of the world have been helped. For a hundred years the United States of America was the place for investment of British and other capital. There is nothing disparaging about it. But the point I wish to make is that we should not develop a mentality of relying on outside help all the time. In the ultimate analysis we must rely on ourselves for technology as well as money. Money is important, but human beings are much more important.

Obviously our resources at present are limited. Since they are limited, they must be applied to the right things. If they are applied to the secondary articles, the primary articles will suffer. Planning therefore should be for primary articles. If we want to industrialize, we will have to produce the machines that will industrialize the country. We cannot industrialize ourselves to any great extent by getting machinery from abroad. That is how iron and steel and power become basic. We are concentrating, therefore, on steel production at a great cost. We are building three major steel plants and doubling a fourth one. So we really have four plants. An eminent German engineer was telling me at Rourkela that he did not know of any country which had the courage to start four plants like these simultaneously. Still we have done that. And when people say, "You have been over-ambitious in regard to the Second Five Year Plan", I will reply that we propose to be over-ambitious every time. It is that outlook that we wish to produce in the country, not the outlook of caution and of creeping along slowly. For the stakes are high. We dare not go slow—for we may fail completely by going slow.

## THE BASIC APPROACH

WE HAVE MANY grave internal problems to face. But a consideration of these internal problems inevitably leads to a wider range of thought. Unless we have some clarity of vision or, at any rate, are clear as to the questions posed to us, we shall not get out of the confusion that afflicts the world today. I do not pretend to have that clarity of thinking or to have any answers to our major questions. All I can say, in all humility, is that I am constantly thinking about these questions. In a sense I might say that I rather envy those who have got fixed ideas and therefore need not take the trouble to look deeper into the problems of today. Whether it is from the point of view of some religion or ideology, they are not troubled with the mental conflicts which are always the accompaniment of the great ages of transition.

And yet, even though it may be more comfortable to have fixed ideas and be complacent, surely that is not to be commended because that can only lead to stagnation and decay. The basic fact of today is the tremendous pace of change in human life. In my own life I have seen amazing changes, and I am sure that in the course of the life of the next generation these changes will be even greater, if humanity is not overwhelmed and annihilated by an atomic war.

Nothing is so remarkable as the progressive conquest or understanding of the physical world by the mind of man today, and this process is continuing at a terrific pace. Man need no longer be a victim of external circumstances, at any rate to a very large extent. While there has been this conquest of external conditions, there is at the same time the strange spectacle of a lack of moral fibre and of self-control in man as a whole. Conquering the physical world, he fails to conquer himself.

That is the tragic paradox of this atomic and sputnik age. The fact that nuclear tests continue, even though it is well recognized that they are very harmful in the present and in the future, and the fact that all kinds of weapons of mass

destruction are being produced and piled up, even though it is universally recognized that their use may well exterminate the human race, bring out this paradox with startling clarity. Science is advancing far beyond the comprehension of a very great part of the human race and posing problems which most of us are incapable of understanding, much less of solving. Hence the inner conflict and tumult of our time. On the one side, there is this great and overpowering progress in science and technology and of their manifold consequences; on the other, a certain mental exhaustion of civilization itself.

- Religion comes into conflict with rationalism. The disciplines of religion and social usage fade away without giving place to other disciplines, moral or spiritual. Religion as practised either deals with matters rather unrelated to our normal lives and thus adopts an ivory-tower attitude or is allied to certain social usages which do not fit in with the present age. Rationalism, on the other hand, with all its virtues, somehow appears to deal with the surface of things, without uncovering the inner core. Science itself has arrived at a stage when vast new possibilities and mysteries loom ahead. Matter and energy and spirit seem to overlap.

In the ancient days life was simple and more in contact with nature. Now it becomes more and more complex and more and more hurried, without time for reflection or even for questioning. Scientific developments have produced an enormous surplus of power and energy which are often used for wrong purposes.

The old question still faces us, as it has faced humanity for ages past: what is the meaning of life? The old days of faith do not appear to be adequate, unless they can answer the questions of today. In a changing world, living should be a continuous adjustment to the changes and happenings. It is the lack of this adjustment that creates conflicts.

The old civilizations, with the many virtues that they possess, have obviously proved inadequate. The new Western civilization with all its triumphs and achievements and also with its atomic bombs also appears inadequate and therefore the feeling grows that there is something wrong with our civilization. Indeed, essentially our problems are those of



civilization itself. Religion gave a certain moral and spiritual discipline; it also tried to perpetuate superstition and social usages. Those superstitions and social usages enmeshed and overwhelmed the real spirit of religion. Disillusionment followed.

Communism comes in the wake of this disillusionment and offers some kind of faith and some kind of discipline. To some extent it fills a vacuum. It succeeds in some measure by giving a content to man's life. But in spite of its apparent success, it fails partly because of its rigidity but, even more so, because it ignores certain essential needs of human nature.

There is much talk in communism of the contradictions of capitalist society and there is truth in that analysis. But we see the growing contradictions within the rigid framework of communism itself. Its suppression of individual freedom brings about powerful reactions. Its contempt for what might be called the moral and spiritual side of life not only ignores something that is basic in man but also deprives human behaviour of standards and values. Its unfortunate association with violence encourages a certain evil tendency in human beings.

I have the greatest admiration for many of the achievements of the Soviet Union. Among these great achievements is the value attached to the child and the common man. Their systems of education and health are probably the best in the world. But it is said, and rightly, that there is suppression of individual freedom there. And yet the spread of education in all its forms is itself a tremendous liberating force which ultimately will not tolerate that suppression of freedom. This again is another contradiction. Unfortunately, communism became too closely associated with the necessity for violence and thus the idea which it placed before the world became a tainted one. Means distorted ends. We see the powerful influence of wrong means and methods.

Communism charges the capitalist structure of society with being based on violence and class conflict. I think this is essentially correct, though the capitalist structure itself has undergone and is continually undergoing a change because of democratic and other struggles. The question is how to

get rid of inequality and have a classless society with equal opportunities for all. Can this be achieved through methods of violence, or can it be possible to bring about the changes through peaceful methods? Communism has definitely allied itself to the approach of violence. Even if it does not indulge normally in physical violence, its language is of violence, its thought is violent and it does not seek to change by persuasion or peaceful democratic pressures, but by coercion and indeed by destruction and extermination. Fascism has all these evil aspects of violence and extermination in their grossest forms and, at the same time, has no acceptable ideal.

• This is completely opposed to the peaceful approach which Gandhiji taught us. Communists as well as anti-communists both seem to imagine that a principle can be stoutly defended only by language of violence and by condemning those who do not accept it. For both of them there are no shades, there is only black or white. That is the old approach of the bigoted aspects of some religions. It is not the approach of tolerance of feeling that perhaps others might have some share of the truth also. Speaking for myself, I find this approach wholly unscientific, unreasonable and uncivilized whether it is applied in the realm of religion or economic theory or anything else. I prefer the old pagan approach of tolerance, apart from its religious aspects. But whatever we may think about it, we have arrived at a stage in the modern world when an attempt at forcible imposition of ideas on any large section of people is bound ultimately to fail. In present circumstances this will lead to war and tremendous destruction. There will be no victory, only defeat for everyone. We have seen in the last year or two that it is not easy even for great powers to reintroduce colonial control over territories which have recently become independent. That was exemplified by the Suez incident in 1956. Also what happened in Hungary demonstrated that the desire for national freedom is even stronger than any ideology and cannot ultimately be suppressed. What happened in Hungary was not essentially a conflict between communism and anti-communism. It represented nationalism striving for freedom from foreign control.

Thus violence cannot possibly lead today to a solution of any major problem because violence has become much too terrible and destructive. The moral approach to the question has now been powerfully reinforced by the practical aspect.

If the society which we aim at cannot be brought about by big-scale violence, will small-scale violence help? Surely not, partly because that itself may lead to a big-scale violence and partly because it produces an atmosphere of conflict and of disruption. It is absurd to imagine that in a conflict the socially progressive forces are bound to win. In Germany both the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party were swept away by Hitler. This may well happen in other countries too. In India any appeal to violence is particularly dangerous because of its inherent disruptive character. The basic thing, I believe, is that wrong means will not lead to right results and that is no longer merely an ethical doctrine but a practical proposition.

Some of us have been discussing this general background and, more especially, conditions in India. It is often said that there is a sense of frustration and depression in India and the old buoyancy of spirit is not to be found at a time when enthusiasm and hard work are most needed. This is not in evidence merely in our country. It is in a sense a world phenomenon. An old and valued colleague said that this is due to our not having a philosophy of life, and indeed the world also is suffering from this lack of a philosophical approach. In our efforts to ensure the material prosperity of the country we have not paid any attention to the spiritual element in human nature. Therefore in order to give the individual and the nation a sense of purpose, something to live for and if necessary to die for, we have to revive some philosophy of life and give, in the wider sense of the word, a spiritual background to our thinking.

We talk of a Welfare State and of democracy and socialism. These are good concepts but they hardly convey a clear and unambiguous meaning. Then the question arises as to what our ultimate objective should be. Democracy and socialism are means to an end, not the end itself. We talk of the good of society. Is this something apart from and

transcending the good of the individuals composing it? If the individual is ignored and sacrificed for what is considered the good of the society, is that the right objective to have?

It is agreed that the individual should not be so sacrificed and indeed that real social progress will come only when opportunity is given to the individual to develop, provided the individual is not a selected group but comprises the whole community. The touchstone, therefore, should be how far any political or social theory enables the individual to rise above his petty self and thus think in terms of the good of all. The law of life should not be competition or acquisitiveness but co-operation, the good of each contributing to the good of all. In such a society the emphasis will be on duties, not on rights; the rights will follow the performance of the duties. We have to give a new direction to education and evolve a new type of humanity.

This argument leads to the old Vedantic conception that everything, whether sentient or insentient, finds a place in the organic whole : that everything has a spark of what might be called the divine impulse or the basic energy or life force which pervades the Universe. This leads to metaphysical regions which tend to take us away from the problems of life which face us. I suppose that any line of thought sufficiently pursued leads us in some measure to metaphysics. Even science today is almost on the verge of all manner of imponderables. I do not propose to discuss these metaphysical aspects, but this very argument indicates how the mind searches for something basic underlying the physical world. If we really believed in this all pervading concept of the principle of life, it might help us to get rid of some of our narrowness of race, caste or class and make us more tolerant and understanding in our approaches to life's problems.

But obviously it does not solve any of these problems and, largely, we remain where we were. In India we talk of the Welfare State and socialism. In a sense, every country, whether it is capitalist, socialist or communist, accepts the ideal of the Welfare State. Capitalism, in a few countries at least, has achieved this common welfare to a very large extent, though it has far from solved its own problems and there is a basic

lack of something vital. Capitalism allied to democracy has undoubtedly toned down many of its evils and in fact is different now from what it was a generation or two ago. In industrially advanced countries there has been a continuous and steady upward trend of economic development. Even the terrible losses of world war have not prevented this trend in so far as the highly developed countries are concerned. Further, this economic development has spread, though in varying degrees, to all classes. This does not apply to countries which are not industrially developed. Indeed in these countries the struggle for development is very difficult and sometimes, in spite of efforts, not only do economic inequalities remain but tend to become worse. Normally speaking, it may be said that the forces of a capitalist society, if left unchecked, tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and thus increase the gap between them. This applies to countries as well as groups or regions or classes within the countries. Various democratic processes interfere with these normal trends. Capitalism itself has therefore developed some socialistic features even though its major aspects remain.

Socialism of course deliberately wants to interfere with the normal processes and thus not only adds to the productive forces but lessens inequalities.

What is socialism? It is difficult to give a precise answer and there are innumerable definitions of it. Some people probably think of socialism vaguely as something which does good and which aims at equality. That does not take us very far. Socialism is basically a different approach from that of capitalism, though I think it is true that the wide gap between them tends to lessen because many of the ideas of socialism are gradually being incorporated in the capitalist structure. Socialism is after all not only a way of life but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems. If socialism is introduced in a backward and under-developed country, it does not suddenly make it any less backward. In fact we then have a backward and poverty-stricken socialism.

Unfortunately many of the political aspects of communism have tended to distort our vision of socialism. Also the technique of struggle evolved by communism has given violence

a predominant part. Socialism should therefore be considered apart from these political elements or the inevitability of violence. It tells us that the general character of social, political and intellectual life in a society is governed by its productive resources. As those productive resources change and develop, the life and thinking of the community changes.

Imperialism or colonialism suppressed and suppresses the progressive social forces. Inevitably it aligns itself with certain privileged groups or classes because it is interested in preserving the social and economic *status quo*. Even after a country has become independent, it may continue to be economically dependent on other countries. This kind of thing is euphemistically called having close cultural and economic ties.

We discuss sometimes the self-sufficiency of the village. This should not be mixed up with the idea of decentralization though it may be a part of it. While decentralization is desirable to the largest possible extent, if it leads to old and rather primitive methods of production, it simply means that we do not utilize modern methods which have brought great material advance to some countries of the West. That is, we remain poor and, what is more, tend to become poorer because of the pressure of an increasing population. I do not see any way out of the vicious circle of poverty except by utilizing the new sources of power which science has placed at our disposal. Being poor, we have no surplus to invest and we sink lower and lower.

We have to break through this barrier by profiting by the new sources of power and modern techniques. But in doing so, we should not forget the basic human element and the fact that our objective is individual improvement and the lessening of inequalities; and we must not forget the ethical and spiritual aspects of life which are ultimately the basis of culture and civilization and have given some meaning to life.

It has to be remembered that it is not by some magic adoption of socialist or capitalist method that poverty suddenly leads to riches. The only way is through hard work and increasing the productivity of the nation and organizing an equitable distribution of its products. It is a lengthy and difficult process. In a poorly developed country, the capitalist method offers

no chance. It is only through a planned approach on socialistic lines that steady progress can be attained though even that will take time. As this process continues, the texture of our life and thinking gradually changes.

Planning is essential because otherwise we waste our resources which are very limited. Planning does not mean a collection of projects or schemes but a thought-out approach of how to strengthen the base and pace of progress so that the community advances on all fronts. In India we have a terrible problem of extreme poverty in certain large regions, apart from the general poverty of the country. We have always a difficult choice before us: whether to concentrate on production by itself in selected and favourable areas, thus for the moment rather ignoring the poor areas, or try to develop the backward areas at the same time so as to lessen the inequalities between regions. A balance has to be struck and an integrated national plan evolved. A national plan need not and indeed should not have rigidity. It need not be based on any dogma but should rather take the existing facts into consideration. It may and, I think in present day India, it should encourage private enterprise in many fields though even that private enterprise must necessarily fit in with the national plan and have such controls as are considered necessary.

Land reforms have a peculiar significance because without them, more especially in a highly congested country like India, there can be no radical improvement in productivity in agriculture. But the main object of land reforms is a deeper one. They are meant to break up the old class structure of a society that is stagnant.

We want social security, but we have to recognize that social security comes only when a certain stage of development has been reached. Otherwise we shall have neither social security nor any development.

It is clear that in the final analysis it is the quality of the human beings that counts. It is man who builds up the wealth of a nation as well as its cultural progress. Hence education and health are of high importance so as to produce that quality in the human beings. We have to suffer here also from the lack of resources, but still we have to remember always that

it is right education and good health that will lay the foundation for economic as well as cultural and spiritual progress.

A national plan has thus both a short-term objective and a long-term objective. The long-term objective gives a true perspective. Without it short-term planning is of little avail and will lead us into blind alleys. Planning will always be perspective planning and will be hard in view of the physical achievements for which we strive. In other words, it has to be physical planning, though it is obviously limited and conditioned by financial resources and economic conditions.

The problems which India faces are to some extent common to other countries, but we have new problems for which there are no parallels or historical precedents elsewhere. What has happened in the past in the industrially advanced countries has little bearing on us today. As a matter of fact, the countries that are advanced today were economically better off than India today, in terms of per capita income, before their industrialization began. Western economics, therefore, though helpful, have little bearing on our present-day problems. So also have Marxist economics which are in many ways out of date even though they throw a considerable light on economic processes. We have thus to do our own thinking, profiting by the example of others, but essentially trying to find a path for ourselves suited to our own conditions.

In considering these economic aspects of our problems, we have always to remember the basic approach of peaceful means; and perhaps we might also keep in view the old Vedantic ideal of the life force which is the inner base of everything that exists.



## DEMOCRACY AND PLANNING

THERE IS A curious argument raised sometimes that planning involves inevitably a measure of regimentation<sup>1</sup> and compulsion and is opposed to democracy, and that planning and democracy cannot therefore go together. The next stage of that argument is that democracy must necessarily be allied to private enterprise and that public enterprise except within very definite limits is opposed to democracy. So it is thought that an essential condition of democracy is that the State should not interfere with the normal course of economic events.

If one thing is clear by looking at history, especially of the last 50 years or so, it is that the normal, unrestrained forces of the market lead to growing differences. This is of course part of the socialist analysis. The trends which are normally at work in the market are not allowed free play today. Even in the most advanced capitalist countries they are not allowed free play and checks are introduced. One check is a democratically elected Parliament. Adult franchise is an adequate check. Parliamentary legislation, whether of capitalist or other countries, is a check on the normal trends of market growth. Other checks may be organizations like trade unions which try to prevent a drift in certain directions. Yet the curious argument is advanced that planning is opposed to the essential freedom of man.

I am mentioning this because there has lately been a sudden emergence of such an attitude amongst certain circles in India. Democracy is supposed to be in peril at the hands of socialism. The National Development Council talks about the wholesale trade in rice being conducted by the State. This is supposed to be a deep fissure in the system of private enterprise controlling the economy. As a matter of fact it is a small dent, which has nothing to do with socialism. A hundred per cent capitalist country would do the same thing. Situated as India is, food distribution and food prices are vitally important and State trading in food is an inevitable thing to be done. It is surprising to me how any intelligent person can oppose it.

<sup>1</sup> From inaugural address to the second All-India Conference of Planning Forums, New Delhi, December 20, 1958

I do not think even the N.D.C.'s proposal for co-operatives was very kindly looked at. Co-operatives are all very good in their proper place, but let them not encroach on the preserves and domains reserved for private enterprise!

Recently two committees were appointed by the All-India Congress Committee, one dealing with agricultural production and land reform, and the other with the Third Five Year Plan. The agricultural committee has presented a report which will be considered by the Congress session at Nagpur. The other committee appointed sub-committees on important aspects of planning. The substance of the agricultural committee's report has again not found favour with the defenders of freedom in India, and they are surprised and dismayed to see that the other committee on planning should appoint sub-committees. It really passes one's comprehension in what world some people in India are living. They do not realize the forces at work in India and the demands of the situation. Above all, they do not realize the working of men's minds in India. I begin to think these criticisms indicate that we have done something worth-while to induce such criticisms.

There is a regular campaign of running down the public sector. I am all for the fullest criticism of the public sector because we want to live in the sun. In the huge public sector undertakings difficulties arise. Let us try to solve these difficulties. I feel that the criticism of the public sector is rather associated with the dislike and fear of what the critics think is happening, namely a definite direction and turn being given to our planning.

I have wondered why the intellectuals of India who might be said to be representing educational institutions have not played an adequate part in the major tasks connected with our planning. The output from the Indian universities of really worth-while books containing the new thinking is pitifully low. We have some very fine economists. Lately I find that the economists are beginning to shoulder their responsibilities a little more, and I am glad of that. Indeed the way these planning forums are progressing indicates that, and that is one of the chief reasons why I welcome the forums. Particularly at the present moment when there is a certain

clash of ideas, it is necessary that the intellectuals should come in, even more than politicians, to attempt to clarify by quiet, dispassionate discussions amongst themselves, in public, with others, and in their books and articles so as to educate not only their own students but the general public. For planning requires widespread understanding in order to link together millions and millions of people in a common task.

We have started thinking about the Third Plan. We are deliberately spreading out our net wide for thought and for co-operation, and the intellectuals are not the persons who should merely be passive fish to be caught in the net. Indeed they should constitute themselves the fishermen who throw the nets to catch people's ideas in order to discuss them and influence them and thereby make this question of how our country is going to progress one of the vital issues in people's minds. At the present stage we have to try our utmost to shake the people out of their mental lethargy.

The world is changing rapidly and yet the people stick to the old grooves of thinking. There is the danger of the static attitude breaking out into anarchy of thought and action. It is here that the trained people, professors and intellectuals, come in to help in guiding the dynamic urges of the new age.

### PLANNING AND POPULATION GROWTH

THE MERE FACT of this international conference being held in Delhi will focus the attention of the country on this important subject. We are in the middle of the Second Five Year Plan and after two years or so our Third Plan will begin.

The very first thing which we have to consider in regard to the Third Plan is what will be the population for which we are planning. We have to consider how much food, clothing, housing and so many other things they will require. As soon as we consider this, we come up against the physical objec-

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From inaugural address to the sixth International Conference on Planned Parenthood, New Delhi, February 14, 1959

tives which we have to attain and their relation to the population of India. We have to come to grips with this problem of population. It does not become some kind of a theoretical concept. We have to plan in terms of food, clothing, housing, education, health, work, etc., and we realize that some kind of limitation of the rapidly growing population becomes an urgent matter for us.

It was for this reason that we were driven to consider this question of family planning as a part of national planning. As soon as our Planning Commission began working a few years ago, it considered this matter and made it an integral part of our planning.

It is a matter of some gratification that the Government of India is the only Government which has, officially as a Government, taken up this matter. I know that many other Governments deal with this problem and have perhaps done much more work in this field, but for some reason or other they have not adopted family planning as an official policy. Our approach to this question is not, if I may use the expression, a *purdah* approach. At the same time, we realize the difficulties of the problem. It does not matter how far you go and how much you succeed in evolving feasible, simple and cheap methods of birth-control if the hundreds of millions of our people do not make good in other ways, economically and educationally. In order to achieve widespread success, family planning has to go hand in hand with the general economic and social advance in the country.

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao said that there should be individual approach to a problem like this. Basically he is right. There has to be a collective as well as an individual approach. If educational standards in the country go up, the problem becomes simpler. If the general living and economic conditions improve, it becomes simpler again. This fact should be appreciated because then the movement of family planning becomes a part of the larger movement for raising the standard of living of the people. I believe that unless the question is associated with that conception, the advance in family planning will not be too rapid.

I read in some book some years ago that the rate of the

growth of population is the highest among the poorer sections of the community. That means that the higher standards which come in a variety of ways help towards lessening the rate of the growth of population. This leads to an intimate connection between family limitation and a higher standard of living, of education, etc. The more education spreads even at primary and secondary levels, the more it becomes easy to deal with the people in such a matter.

Perhaps the most revolutionary thing which is happening in India today is the spread of education. And the most important aspect of this spread of education is the spread of education among girls. That is even now powerfully affecting the home life of our people because home life is affected more by the women than by the men. I do not know if this particular aspect of change in the Indian home which is coming about through the girls who have gone through high school or college education is being appreciated fully. It is these girls who are likely to change the living habits of our people and will probably succeed in carrying this message of family planning farther than some of our official workers.

Let us remember that all the technical facilities which might be offered will fail unless the ground is prepared for them by educational advance and general economic advance of the people. Therefore the most vital thing in India is for us to advance on the economic and social fronts. If in our eagerness for family planning we ignore this major aspect of economic advance or educational advance, we will be building on wholly insecure foundations. For economic and educational progress is the only foundation on which we can have any effective progress in regard to family planning.

The real problem of India lies in the villages. The city folk cannot easily adjust themselves to thinking in terms of village conditions, but unless they do that they will not go very far in affecting or influencing the village. I address large rural audiences from time to time and almost always I speak of family planning to them. It is interesting to watch their reactions. Their reactions are odd; to some extent they are even amused. There is general laughter in the audience whenever I refer to this matter and there is a certain shyness. But

the people are slowly getting over that stage and an appreciation that this is a matter worth considering is coming to them. This creates a slightly more favourable atmosphere which has to be followed up. The favourable atmosphere is of great importance.

### THREE BASIC INSTITUTIONS

AT AVADI THE Indian National Congress took a decision to have as its objective a Socialist Pattern of Society. The Congress had always thought in terms of some socialistic pattern, but at Avadi it formally accepted that and put it in its creed. Later it adopted the ideal of a Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth. That was a step forward.

At the last session of the Congress at Nagpur three months ago, we took another step which was in line with Avadi and which took us some more distance forward.

At Nagpur the Congress passed two important resolutions. One was about planning, specially the Third Five Year Plan. The other resolution was about our land organization, panchayats and co-operatives.

Over 80 per cent of our people live in the villages. India is poor because the villages of India are poor. India will be rich if the villages of India are rich. Therefore the basic problem of India is to remove the poverty from the Indian villages. Some years ago we abolished the *zamindari* and the *jagirdari* systems in various parts of India, because the villages of India could not prosper under a semi-feudal system of land ownership. This is not enough. We have to go ahead further. The Nagpur resolution on land and agriculture told us along what lines we should go.

In regard to land, the Nagpur resolution laid stress on three things. Firstly, each village should have a semi-autonomous panchayat. It should have a co-operative. It should have a school.

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From speech at Madurai, April 15, 1959

The resolution said that the panchayats should be given greater power. For we want the villager to have a measure of real Swaraj in his own village. He should have power and not have to refer everything to big officials. We do not want the officials to interfere too much in the life of the village. We want to build Swaraj right from the village up.

Secondly, the Nagpur Congress said that every village should have a co-operative and that groups of villages should form unions of co-operatives. The Congress constitution has stated as its objective the establishment of a Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth. What the Nagpur Congress did was to lay down a specific programme so that in every village there should be a co-operative. Why in every village? Because we felt that a co-operative should be formed so that people of the village should know each other. The co-operative should encourage cohesion and the coming together of village people. The village should be like a large family.

The co-operatives have in the past been chiefly societies for credit purposes. But we want the co-operatives to perform many other services. While the panchayat will represent the administrative aspect of village life, the co-operative will represent the economic side of village life. The peasantry and others will, through the co-operatives, perform together many of the economic functions which they performed separately. The peasant in India is very weak. He can make good only if he joins others through a co-operative. By forming co-operatives the peasants can pool their resources for providing credit and for getting supplies of seeds, implements, fertilizers, etc. and can organize the sale of their produce. The co-operative removes the money-lender and the middle-man. That is why all over the world farmers have formed themselves into service co-operatives.

The service co-operatives in the villages will raise the standard of living in the village in many ways. If the co-operatives function properly they will help in introducing cottage and small industries and other auxiliary activities in the villages. Therefore the service co-operatives not only are good and essential for better farming but represent a higher level of work and existence for the people of the villages.

The Nagpur Congress resolution also said that while we should try to establish service co-operatives in every village in India during the next three years, the final picture which we should aim at is one of joint cultivation. What does that mean? It does not mean that people should lose their ownership of land. The right of ownership will continue. Joint cultivation is another step forward so as to profit more from the land. People having their share of land should jointly cultivate it and should take their share out of what is jointly produced. This will enable the peasant to employ scientific methods of cultivation which are difficult to apply on small holdings. What is visualized in the Nagpur resolution is service co-operatives leading ultimately to joint cultivation with the ownership of the land remaining with the peasant.

This decision of the Nagpur Congress was arrived at after careful thinking, argument and consideration extending over years. And the decision does not envisage a rigid pattern because conditions are not the same everywhere in India.

Thirdly, every village in India should have a school. We want every boy and girl to have good education. The peasant cannot progress unless he has education. This is basic.

### THE STATE'S ROLE IN INDUSTRIALIZATION

THE SUBJECT YOU are going to discuss, namely management of public enterprises, is of great importance in this region of South East Asia, certainly to us in India.

The resources of under-developed countries like India are relatively limited. How shall we utilize these resources? What priorities shall we give? These questions obviously call for a planned approach so that each step might lead to other steps and development takes place in a proper sequence.

A programme of planned progress means industrialization. It means adoption of modern techniques. In an agricultural country like India it is obvious that agriculture itself has

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From inaugural address to U.N. Seminar on Management of Public Industrial Enterprises in the ECAFE Region, New Delhi, December 1, 1959



to play a vital and basic part to support industrial development.

How are we to industrialize the country? Historically, countries approach this question in different ways. So far as we are concerned, we have to do it as rapidly as we can. We cannot afford to lengthen out this process because all kinds of social problems tend to overwhelm us. There is no single method of industrialization. We have to advance all along the line. While we are developing the basic and heavy industries as fast as we can, we are equally anxious to develop the middle industries in a very big way. In addition we are planning the development of village industries. We have to take into account the vast human problem. It does not matter at what rate our big industries develop in India. We may develop at the rate of absorbing 10 million new persons, but we have to deal with a population of 400 millions and, therefore, village industries which can be adopted easily by vast numbers of people come into our Plan. But in the main we do believe that it is the development of modern techniques applied even to the agricultural field and certainly to the industrial field that will raise production and build up an industrial economy.

It seems to me obvious if we want to industrialize India quickly, we have to pay special attention to basic and heavy industries. Unless we have the basic and heavy industries, we remain dependent. If we want to have more steel in India, as we do, we must produce our own steel. What is more, we must produce the plant which makes steel. Then only we lay the foundation of the steel industry. This applies to a number of other basic industries.

When we come to big undertakings we come very much into the field of public enterprises. We have in our Industrial Policy Resolution laid down a broad approach of what is called a "mixed economy" which combines public enterprises and private enterprises. We put industrial undertakings in three categories. The first category is mainly of public enterprises reserved for the State; the second consists of those industries which are broadly private enterprises or those which may be public or which may be private; and the third consists of those industries which are in the main private enterprises. Of

course these distinctions are not rigid. There are no hard and fast lines.

According to our thinking, the strategic points of economic development should be controlled by the State or the planning apparatus. Otherwise, many good things may be done, but in an unplanned way, and that would upset the Plan. In planning in under-developed economies it becomes essential that the limited resources are used to the best advantage and that the strategic points of the economy are controlled. Among the strategic points are the basic industries. Broadly speaking, we want to control the basic industries. We therefore come to the establishment of public enterprises. At the same time we encourage private enterprise in a vast field. I do think it is essential. If we want to increase our production, we should explore every avenue of doing so and not follow any rigid line.

Public enterprises play a very important and growing part in India. This brings me to the question of management of public enterprises.

Normally it is not easy to find competent, trained persons to man these rather very specialized and high-class jobs. We can have them from civil services. We can have them from private industry. The normal civil service or administrative service approach is not quite the same as the approach required for a big industry. The methods of work in governmental and civil services are somewhat different. The Government functions in a particular way, in a rather static way usually. There is so much in it that the bright person gets frustrated about. We can have bright persons from private industry to manage public enterprises. Again, the question arises whether the private enterprise approach of mind is the same as the approach of mind required for public enterprise. There is a difference between the two. In a public enterprise one has to have the background of thinking and training of public enterprises, and of the basic objectives of planning.

## PERSPECTIVE PLANNING

THIS DRAFT OUTLINE is only an outline, but it covers the whole progress of the Indian nation. I shall try to deal with some major aspects of this Plan, particularly what could be called its strategy.

Although a great deal of thought has been given to it by the Planning Commission and the Commission has consulted advisers, experts and others in this country and from outside, we do not approach this question with any sense of finality or with any desire to appear rigid in our approach.

There is, however, certainly some rigidity about the ideals we aim at, because there must be some fixity. If we want India to progress, if we want India to be prosperous and if we want to raise the standards of India, we want a socialist society in India. There is no lack of firmness about that. But we do not aim at any rigid or doctrinaire form of socialism.

So far as this particular Plan is concerned, it flows from and is a projection of the Second Plan which itself came after the First. The Second Plan was roughly double the First Plan. And the Third, again, is much larger. Most of the objectives mentioned in this Plan will be found to be mentioned in the Second. Therefore so far as our objectives are concerned, they have been consistently placed before this House and the public. Very briefly they are: a rise in the national income of over 5 per cent per annum; achievement of self-sufficiency in food grains, and increased agricultural production for industry and export; expansion of basic industries like steel, fuel, power and machine-building; utilization of the manpower resources of the country and expansion of employment opportunities; reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

The Third Five Year Plan, in fact, has become for us not some kind of a book to read but a picture of a vast nation advancing forward in certain pre-determined directions to pre-determined goals. Planning therefore consists in having an objective—not only an immediate objective but a more

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From speech in Lok Sabha initiating discussion on the Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan, August 22, 1960

distant objective. We cannot plan only for tomorrow; we have to plan for years, and in the case of a nation we have to plan for generations. Therefore planning means perspective planning.

A country which wants to progress wants to progress in a hundred ways. We have therefore to take into consideration the order of preference—what is first, what is second, and what is third. There are so many things we want to do in India, and we want to do them quickly and passionately. The question of finding the proper way to reach a certain goal becomes important. Suppose you want to build a steel plant. You can buy it, of course; but even so you have to train the people who have got to run it.

Advance in technology means a general advance in such training and education as are necessary for the purpose in a widespread way. It is not a question of putting up a plant here or there; it is a question of building up from below a nation used to thinking in terms of technical change and technical advance. It becomes a problem of mass education. The countries which had the Industrial Revolution had perforce to go in for free and compulsory education; not that they liked it. They were forced to go in for it because they could not support the structure of industrialization without mass education.

We have to industrialize our country and introduce new techniques both in industry and in agriculture. We can do it, in a way, by buying machines and technical experience from abroad and asking the experts to put up the machines and work them here. This has been the normal method. That is how, for example, the railways came here a hundred years ago to change the face of India. This is all right in the beginning of a process but if we want to do it steadily, we have to do it ourselves and not always buy from America or Russia either the skills or the machines. We have to build up the skills and we have to build up the machines here.

I confess that we lost a good deal by not putting up a steel plant under the First Five Year Plan. We did not have the courage to take that burden then but if we had shown a little courage, it would have been well for us in the Second

Plan and now. In the Second Plan therefore we were forced to have three new plants, which have been a tremendous burden on us. We have borne it, and of the three plants, two are completed and the other is nearing completion. There are also some other heavy plants that we have put up, particularly the machine-building plant which is gradually taking shape.

The beginning of industrialization really can now be seen in India. A number of textile mills in Ahmedabad or Bombay or Kanpur is not industrialization; it is merely playing with it. I do not object to textile mills; we need them; but our idea of industrialization will be limited, cribbed, cabined and confined by thinking of these ordinary textile mills and calling it industrialization. Industrialization produces machines, it produces steel, it produces power. They are the base. Once you have that base, it is easy to build. But for a backward country, even to build that base is a difficult task. We have not finished building the base but we have put a good part of the base and we can now look forward with some confidence to a more rapid advance which could never have happened without that base, however much we might have built the smaller industries. We would always have to depend on outside aid. Indeed we have had troubles in regard to foreign exchange and they are likely to continue. We can never get rid of the foreign exchange troubles without having heavy industry in our country. Unless we start from the base, we cannot build the third or fourth storey. We can advance in minor sectors of the economy, but if we do not build the basic structure, it will not make any difference to the hundreds of millions of our people. The strategy governing planning in India is to industrialize, and that means the basic industries being given the first place.

Having laid great stress on industrialization, we have to look in the direction of agriculture. We shall find that this industrial progress cannot be made without agricultural advance and progress. The fact is that the two cannot be separated. They are intimately connected because agricultural progress is not possible without industry, without tools, without the new methods and techniques. There is no question of giving priority to agriculture. Everyone knows that unless we

are self-sufficient in agriculture we cannot have the wherewithal to advance in industries. If we have to import food, then we are doomed so far as progress is concerned. We cannot import food and machinery.

Inevitably, whether it is agriculture or industry, training of personnel counts. It is the trained human being that makes a nation—not all the machinery in the world. It is he who makes the machines—not the machine the man. So we have to have general training and specialized technical training.

We cannot live on iron and steel. We have to produce other commodities. For this purpose, we have to encourage, in every way, the small and medium industry. I am glad to say that in spite of our concentration on basic industries, small and medium industries are spreading fast in India. This is of considerable importance.

We do not put forward the Draft Outline as something perfect. We may change it here and there. I think hon. Members here and most people outside readily accept the strategy of the Plan and even most of the details. The real problem before India is one of implementation and not one of laying down policies. It is important not merely to lay down policies but to have satisfactory audits of performance. The real thing is not the spending of money but what that has produced.

The record of the first two Plans, even though sometimes criticized, is a fairly remarkable record of achievement. It did not, in some matters, come up to what we wanted it to be but it is nevertheless a very creditable record, whether it is transport, communications, steel, fuel, power and scientific and technological research. In fact the whole of Indian economy has arrived at the threshold of accelerated growth. It can grow much faster if we keep it pushing. In a moment like this, if we slacken at all we shall lose all the advantage we have gained.

As you know, our population in 1961 would presumably have gone up by about 70 millions compared to 1951. Why has it gone up? Because we are a much healthier nation. The expectation of life ten years ago was 32. Today it is 42.

The national income over the First and Second Plans has

gone up by 42 per cent and the per capita income by 20 per cent. A legitimate query is made: where has this gone? To some extent, of course, you can see where it has gone. I address large gatherings in the villages and I can see that people are better fed, better clothed, they build brick houses and they are generally better. Nevertheless, that does not apply to everybody in India. Some people probably have hardly benefited. Some people may even be facing various difficulties. The fact remains, however, that this advance in our national income and in our per capita income has taken place.

We have to avoid and prevent too much accumulation of wealth. If, after all this additional income, only five per cent or 10 per cent of the population have benefited by it and 90 per cent have not, that is not a good result. We cannot of course even it out. That is not possible. But it is desirable to make the benefits spread.

Some people may say, "Why such a big plan? Have a small plan." There are certain minimum objectives that we have to reach. There is no escape from them. As a matter of fact, there used to be some people who criticized our planning on the ground that it was ambitious. Hardly anybody says that now. The realization has gradually come about that by the compulsion of events and circumstances and our own needs, we must plan in a relatively big way. Even the toughest and the most cautious of people in the Western world have come to the conclusion that our Plan is not ambitious; it is rather on the low side.

Though from the point of view of the advancement of India the Plan is not very big, yet from the point of view of our resources it is big undoubtedly, and it requires a tremendous effort on our part to raise these resources and to work hard to achieve our aims. It is proposed that almost the least that we should have is an advance in the national income of five to six per cent per annum. It should not go below five. And the rate of investment should be stepped up from 11 to 14 per cent. All this requires social development.

Take education. It is proposed in the Plan to spread out education—free and compulsory education—to all boys and girls of the age-group 6 to 11. Under our Constitution it

should have been up to 14 years and it should have been done within the first ten years. But we have been unable to do that, although the spread of education has been vast. At the present moment there are, I believe, 45 million boys and girls in the schools and colleges in India. It is a very large figure. If we could do what we intend to do in regard to education in India, we would have 100 million teachers and taught in India. That is about 25 per cent of the total population!

The charge is often made: you talk about socialism and yet you permit grave inequalities of income; you want to put a ceiling on land holdings and yet you oppose ceiling on urban or other incomes. There is that contradiction, I admit. But if we try to remove that type of contradiction, we put a stop in many ways to the type of progress we are aiming at. If you are not prepared to change completely the whole basis of society, you have to leave enough incentive for people to work. You can, by taxation, etc., reduce disparities. But enforcing ceilings on urban incomes may well result in a slowing down of the process of development and it is of the utmost importance that this process of development and production should not come down.

Take the much-talked-of private sector and public sector. Obviously, most persons who believe in a socialist pattern must believe in the public sector growing all the time. But it does not necessarily mean that the private sector is eliminated even at a much later stage.

In regard to the private sector and the public sector, I think the criteria should be basically two. One is to have as much production as possible through all the means at our disposal, and the second is prevention of accumulation of wealth and economic power in individual hands. If we have only the first one, it may lead subsequently to unsocial, undesirable and harmful consequences. Therefore we must aim right from the beginning and all the time at the prevention of this accumulation of wealth and economic power.

To draw the line may be sometimes difficult. If, by any step that we take, production goes down, then we are cutting at the root of our advance and progress. If, on the other hand, private monopolies are built up, then we are encouraging a



process which will come in our way badly and be harmful now and later. It will take us away very far from any kind of progress towards socialism. In other words, we must encourage production, and at the same time, the social motive. Incentives are necessary; I agree. But there are many types of incentives, some incentives that are good to society, and some that are bad to society. A society in which the main incentive is acquisitiveness is getting out of date everywhere. I do not want to encourage acquisitiveness in India beyond a certain measure.

Our whole object in the Third Plan is to arrive at a stage when we do not depend upon outside countries for any kind of help, whether financial or mechanical. That is what is called, broadly speaking, the take-off stage. But even at this stage one would have to depend somewhat on supplies from outside, whether they are machines or financial help by way of loans or credits. We are grateful for the help we have got from various countries, from the U.S.A. most of all, from the Soviet Union a good deal, and from a number of other countries. They have been generous.

But what is more important is what we have to do in our own country—our domestic resources. They are going to place a very heavy strain on us. There is no escape from it and we have to face it, whether it is heavier taxation, public loans or savings.

In all these matters, the question of price policy comes up. It is an exceedingly difficult question and an exceedingly important one. It is not a party matter. In fact, in the whole Plan our approach is not a party approach except in so far as you might say that we are committed to a policy aiming at a socialist pattern and socialism. It goes without saying that it is of the utmost importance that prices should be under control. But a price policy is not separate from the rest of economic activity. It cannot be separate from fiscal or monetary or commercial policy, and it might well involve controls. In certain essential articles, if necessary, it may involve all kinds of approaches including controls.

Now I should like to say a few words about Community Development. I have attached great importance to it and

often praised it. I have no doubt that in spite of all that has happened, and our numerous slips, the Community Development scheme has changed and is changing the face of rural India. And that is more important in the final analysis than any number of factories. More particularly, recent developments in the direction of giving more power to the panchayats—what is called panchayati raj—I feel, is going to make a revolutionary change. I should like this House to appreciate it because it is a very important part of our Plan especially in regard to the rural areas and agricultural production.

There is then the question of co-operatives. For some odd reason the word “co-operative” rather frightens some people. I have tried in all humility to understand the other person’s point of view, and to some extent I succeed in it. People sometimes accuse me of looking at things from both points of view! I have tried hard to understand the view-point of those people who have started expressing themselves in pain and sorrow about the co-operatives. When co-operative farming is mentioned the pain becomes intense. I have not been able to understand this in spite of every effort. Co-operatives are the one and only way for agriculture in India. Co-operative farming or joint farming is the right method for Indian agriculture.

It has been said that this leads to something terrible—communism. If the logic of thinking of some people is governed by such ghosts and hobgoblins, it is difficult to reason with them. Communism has nothing to do with this. Whether communism may be good or bad, you can argue. But to bring in this kind of thinking and confuse the issue seems to me quite amusing. If you say, “You must not do this by compulsion”. I agree. But the idea of joint co-operative farming is definitely a higher social form in agriculture, just as the social approach in industry is better than the narrow acquisitive approach.

I should like to say a word about land reforms. We, or rather our States, have been slow in the matter. This has been harmful to us and to production. Fortunately, we are gradually ending the first phase of land reforms.

I should again like to repeat that the Planning Commission or the Government of India do not regard

themselves as being in possession of the ultimate wisdom. But they have given a great deal of thought and produced what they consider good for the country. They invite friendly consideration, and even unfriendly consideration, provided it is intelligent, so that we might improve it before finalizing it.

### THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

IT WAS ALMOST exactly a year ago, on August 22, 1960 that I moved the motion for consideration of the Draft Outline of the Third Plan.

Soon after achieving freedom, we started on an exciting pilgrimage through the Five Year Plans, and gradually the concept of planning has seeped down into our people all over the country. The amount of attention which our Plans have drawn from the rest of the world has been gratifying. The tremendous effort being made by the Indian people to pull themselves up has been recognized as a matter of the greatest importance.

I should like to express my gratitude to the State Governments, organizations, specialists and all those who have helped in the making of the Third Five Year Plan. In particular, I mention the name of one person who has in effect embodied or represented our Planning Commission for ten years, Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari.

I wish to point out that the basis of this Plan is in accordance with our social objectives. The picture of the organization of the society which we work for was there in the First Plan; it was more evident in the Second Plan; and it takes more and more shape in the Third Plan.

When we began planning, India's economy had been almost stagnant for a long period. A stagnant economy gets stuck in the ruts and it is difficult to get a move on. Once it gets into motion, it is easier to go on at greater speed.

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From speech in Lok Sabha while moving that the Third Five Year Plan be taken into consideration, August 21, 1961

I shall give a few figures. During the first two Plans national income increased by 42 per cent. During the ten-year period the population increased by 77 million, and yet there was an increase in per capita income from Rs. 284 to Rs. 330. This increase came through development in all sectors. In these ten years agricultural production increased by 41 per cent, industrial production by 94 per cent and power by 148 per cent. Railways carried 70 per cent more goods traffic and the traffic on surface roads increased by nearly 50 per cent.

In the field of education, 20 million more children went to school. At present, I believe there are altogether about 46 million boys and girls in schools and colleges. Very considerable strides have been made in technical training. There are 380 engineering colleges and polytechnics all over India at present, while there were 134 ten years ago. Admissions have increased four-fold.

Some people may think that this increase in education is not rapid enough in terms of the directive in our Constitution. Nevertheless I think the increase is quite significant. The mere fact of this increase is helping to bring about a social revolution all over the countryside.

Another outstanding feature of these years has been the progress in scientific and industrial research. The large number of national and regional laboratories, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Department of Atomic Energy, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, the Geological Survey of India, the Bureau of Mines, the Central Water and Power Commission and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research have laid the base for rapid scientific and technological advance.

One fact which I have mentioned several times previously and which stands out during these ten years is the increase in the expectation of life at birth. Long years ago, there was a book which perhaps people do not read now but which was then one of the classics, William Digby's *Prosperous British India* where the expectation of life in India at birth was given as 24. It was shocking. In 1941-51 the expectation of life at birth was 32. During the Second Plan it rose to 42. It is 47.5 at present. This increase represents many factors like

better health, better food, and general bettering of living conditions. In other countries the figure of expectation of life has gone above 60, but I think for it to have gone up to over 47 in India in these last ten years is quite remarkable.

During this period of ten years, we have had to face the tremendous problem of rehabilitation of displaced persons. Nine million came from Pakistan to India.

This is a very brief account of the past. I shall not go further into it.

We have kept in view two social objectives during this period: (1) We are to build up, by democratic means, a rapidly expanding and technologically progressive economy; and (2) we are to establish a social order based on social justice and offering equal opportunity to every citizen. These objectives have to be kept in view all the time. Therefore, it is necessary for us to have not only a Five Year Plan, but a plan with longer perspective. We propose to have the perspective plan approach. We have been making that approach all these years, but hereafter it will be a more definite one for the next 15 years. One of the principal activities of the Planning Commission is going to be the preparation of a Fifteen Year Plan.

We calculated the national income at the end of 1960-61 to be Rs. 14,500 crores. In 1965-66 it will be Rs. 19,000 crores; in 1970-71, Rs. 25,000 crores; in 1975-76, Rs. 33-34,000 crores. The per capita income in 1960-61 was Rs. 330. In 1965-66 it will be Rs. 385; in 1970-71, Rs. 450; in 1975-76, Rs. 530. The rate of net investment as a proportion of national income will grow from 11 per cent to 20 per cent, and the rate of domestic saving in proportion to national income will grow from 8.5 per cent now to 18-19 per cent in 1975-76.

The investment during the First Plan was Rs. 3,300 crores; in the Second Plan, Rs. 8,750 crores; in the Third Plan, Rs. 10,500 crores; in the Fourth Plan, presumably, it will be Rs. 17,000 crores; in the Fifth Plan Rs. 25,000 crores. This, of course, can only be possible if we make the progress which we envisage.

The perspective plan which is going to be prepared is to have the following tentative targets of capacity to serve as a

basis for the end of the Fourth Plan, 1970-71: steel ingots 18-19 million tons; pig iron 3-4 million tons; aluminium 230-250,000 tons; electric power 21-23 million k.W.; coal 170-180 million tons; oil refining 18-20 million tons; nitrogenous fertilizers 2-2.2 million tons; cement 24-26 million tons; machine building output Rs. 1,600 crores; foodgrains 125 million tons; and exports Rs. 1,300-1,400 crores. These are our expectations.

Hon. Members may have heard of the discussion which took place repeatedly in the Planning Commission about physical planning and financial planning. Obviously both the physical programme and the financial resources available have to be considered. It was decided that we should keep the physical programme in view and work for it, but not finally commit ourselves to any scheme which is not within the financial limits. The physical outlay in this way amounted to a little over Rs. 8,000 crores. The financial plan, however, is for Rs. 7,500 crores. The gap really is not big.

This Plan requires a great deal of external assistance and foreign exchange resources. We have been fortunate in getting considerable help for this Plan from a number of friendly countries and I am grateful to those countries for their help. For the present, help has been given to us or promised for the first two years of the Plan. It must be remembered that, whatever help we may get the real burden lies on our own people.

Here I may refer to Pakistan which objects strongly to the help we receive from other countries. It contends that although such help is for civil planning, it indirectly helps our defence by releasing resources for our defence. This is not true. Whatever help we receive from outside is either for specific projects or for the Plan as such. Everything that we get from abroad means an additional burden on us in order to implement a specified scheme. If foreign exchange does not come forth, perhaps we cannot build that enterprise. But building a project means greater burden on us because we have to spend domestic resources in addition to repaying foreign aid. It thus adds considerably to our burden. It does not release any money for defence at all.

No doubt, as our enterprises grow, the strength of the country increases. The progress of industrialization will be a great factor in the defence of the country. Many enterprises have come up in the last ten years. Formerly we were completely dependent for almost all the important things on outside resources, on Britain and others. As the House knows, we now have large establishments producing locomotives, wagons, carriages and all manner of machine tools. We are now laying the foundations of huge machine-building establishments at Ranchi and elsewhere. All these will certainly add to the strength of the nation.

I should like to give a few figures of the scale of the effort envisaged in the Third Plan.

We want to increase agricultural production by 30 per cent, foodgrains production by 32 per cent, industrial production by 70 per cent, production of steel ingots by 163 per cent, of aluminium by 332 per cent, of machine tools by 445 per cent and of power by 123 per cent.

Great stress has been laid on exports. That is an obvious need, because the only possible way for us to pay back the large loans which we receive is through exports. We have been too much wedded to certain conventional exports. We have to go outside that range. At the present moment, a fresh difficulty has arisen and that is the European Common Market and the effect it may have on our exports if and when the U.K. joins it.

This Five Year Plan deals with many aspects of life but it does not deal with defence, for understandable reasons. Defence has in the last ten years made rather remarkable progress. Defence today depends more on industrial apparatus than merely on soldiers in uniform. Great improvement has taken place in our defence science.

The Atomic Energy Department is an outstanding example of what can be done by our scientists. It has been done because the Atomic Energy Department has not only got a very able head but because he has followed a policy of picking people and giving them freedom to act.

The House may remember that about a year or two ago, we put forward a paper on our general approach to scientists.

We wanted to give them a better deal and we wanted to increase not only their emoluments but their general status. Unless we give opportunities to these people to function properly and happily, our progress has to be limited. They build the new world, more than the administrators do.

I think the House has been informed previously of a committee which we appointed some time ago to enquire where and how the additional incomes generated in our land have been distributed and how far concentration of wealth has taken place. This is a very important and vital matter. This question has turned out to be more complicated than the members of the committee had imagined. They cannot dispose of it by any broad principle. I hope that the committee's labours will result in some practical recommendations.

It is patent that our economic development and our social changes depend upon various basic factors. If our attention is diverted from the task of implementing the Plan and if we quarrel among ourselves, naturally the work which we envisage will suffer, and the future of India will suffer.

Before concluding, may I read a few lines from the Third Plan report? I am reading from the end of the chapter on Objectives of Planned Development:

"Planning is a continuous movement towards desired goals and, because of this, all major decisions have to be made by agencies informed of these goals and the social purpose behind them."

It is important to remember that. If the agencies pull in different directions, naturally the Plan itself will tend to crack. The principal agencies which decide the Plan and implement it must have the basic social purpose in view, and this has been set forth in the Plan report:

"Even in considering a five-year period, forward and long-term planning has always to be kept in view. Indeed, perspective planning is of the essence of the planning process. As this process develops, there is a certain rhythm of expansion in the development of the people, and a sense of enterprise and achievement comes to them. They are conscious of a purpose in life and have a feeling of being participants in the making of history. Ultimately, it is



the development of the human being and the human personality that counts. Although planning involves material investment, even more important is the investment in man. The people of India today, with all their burdens and problems, live on the frontier of a new world which they are helping to build. In order to cross this frontier they have to possess courage and enterprise, the spirit of endurance and capacity for hard work, and the vision of the future."

### THE HUMAN FACTOR IN PLANNING

PLANNING IS NOT merely a question of drawing up a list of projects and finding resources to execute them. These two tasks no doubt form the base of planning. Among the resources, thought is mostly given to the financial aspect and, in fact, there is the danger of this aspect rather overshadowing and suppressing the other aspects. The financial aspect is important but is far less important than the human aspect.

We cannot really change a man's mind and heart with money. We can buy him but we cannot change his mind and heart. We have to change the mind and heart of masses of people in other ways. If too much money is forthcoming, it may lead to the mentality of the receiver of the dole and the giver of the dole, which is not good for either party. It makes people indolent and wait for others to do things for them. The real change which has to be brought about in the future is a change in the mind of the human being to make him self-reliant and stand on his own feet and legs and do the job. He may learn from others and take help from others, but essentially he should rely on his own self. That is the base of progress.

No community which cannot stand on its feet can really go ahead. It may do a little better with help and it may even increase living standards slowly but it stops somewhere and

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From inaugural address to the Asian Economic Planners' Conference, New Delhi, September 26, 1961

it remains an indolent community. The problem which planning has to face is, in the final analysis, the problem of getting at the heart and mind of the human beings. The best way of doing it is through the process of education and specialized training.

Specialized training is inevitably required for all the specialized jobs of work which a community has to do. But at the base of specialized training is widespread education. In fact, the beginning of planning may well be widespread education. I do not see any future for planned work in a backward country without the spread of education. I divide education into basic education open to all, and specialized education to provide specialized training for those who have to do particular types of work. How far all these processes succeed ultimately depends upon the quality of the human being involved.

We have had a little experience of these processes in the last dozen years or so in India. Even before we undertook the task of planning we were thinking about it for a dozen years previously. We were discussing it through informal committees and otherwise so that our mind was full of the idea of planning. For it was obvious that we should plan in an organized way.

As I was saying, in any plan to better people's conditions, education has the very first place. But the spread of education itself is limited to some extent by our resources. So we get into a vicious circle. Where are we to begin? In fact, we have to begin all along the line and in all sectors of the economy, including the social services.

In this process it is naturally advantageous to be helped, financially and with technical advice. Again, remember that the job has to be done by the people of the country, firstly because the people of the country must learn how to do it and must become self-reliant, and secondly because others, however able they may be to do a particular job, can never enter into the spirit of the people they work with. They have not only a different type of economic thinking but even a different type of cultural accomplishment and they cannot make the masses of the people enthusiastic.

The process of planning involves the changing of the human beings, their thinking and their ways of work. The technical aspect of planning is very important. But I think the human aspect is much more important than the technical aspect. The two have to fit into each other.

### TOWARDS SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

DEMOCRACY NORMALLY MEANS political democracy, giving each person a vote. The right of voting is good and useful but it is precious little good if it is accompanied by hunger and starvation.

Therefore, the proper way is to have full democracy in the sense of not only political democracy but economic democracy. It should give an opportunity to large numbers of people to profit by the democratic method and to have more or less equal chances to progress. Political democracy should inevitably lead up to economic democracy. Even in countries which are supposed to be highly capitalistic the tendency to economic democracy is obvious. The tendency, in other words, is towards some form of socialism. In Europe there are many countries which are socialistic. The Scandinavian countries, possibly the most advanced countries of Europe, have socialist democracy.

In India after attaining Swaraj we drew up a policy for future progress. The policy was governed by certain resolutions passed by the Congress earlier and by the general outlook in the country in favour of certain reforms. The outlook was socialistically inclined. Among other things, for example, it attached importance to agrarian reform. Any mass party in India must necessarily attach importance to agrarian reform because the mass of people are rural. Therefore, the first thing which we did was to put an end to the *zamindari*, *talukdari* and

*jagirdari* systems which were relics of feudal times in India. We had earlier put an end to the big princely States. We put an end to the whole feudal system. We did it quietly and without much trouble. Then we discussed for a long time what agrarian reforms should be introduced and drew up certain principles on which the reforms should be based all over India.

We came to the conclusion that while agrarian reforms were very important, what India required was an industrial revolution. In Europe, science and technology helped the industrial revolution and the production of wealth. It is clear that without modernizing our methods of production we cannot produce enough to get rid of our poverty. Poverty has ceased to be inevitable now, because of science. Science can be used for destructive purposes; the same power can change the world for the better. It can change India. There is no other way than to modernize India in methods of production. We have to absorb the spirit of science in India.

We have applied the methods of science to our planning. There are bits of socialism in the First Plan, more of it in the Second Plan, and still more in the Third Plan. Essentially it is not socialism but scientific planning in order to lay the base for greater progress in future. Scientific planning enables us to increase our production, and socialism comes in when we plan to distribute production evenly. We do not want the profits of greater production in India to go into a few pockets. People, no doubt, are not equal in ability, in strength and in the capacity to work, but everyone should be given an equal chance to work and go ahead faster. In any case, there is no justification for the great disparities of income as have existed in India to continue. Broadly our objective is to establish a Welfare State with a socialist pattern of society, with no great disparities of income and offering an equal opportunity to all.

In Western countries full-blooded democracy with adult suffrage came to the people very late, in the twentieth century. They had in the meantime profited by the industrial revolution. They got the resources before they gained a full-blooded

democracy so that when the demands came for better living conditions they had the resources to fulfil them. In India we have full-blooded democracy, but not the resources. The only way to fulfil people's demands is to develop the resources as rapidly as possible. Practical considerations, as well as other considerations, drive us to the conclusion that we have to advance rapidly and we can do that only in a planned way. I think that India will advance along the particular path of democracy with a large measure of socialism—not doctrinaire socialism but practical, pragmatic socialism—which will fit in with the thinking of India and with the demands of India.

### THE PLAN BUILDS THE NATION'S STRENGTH

WE ARE MEETING today specially because a very special occasion has demanded it. You know all the facts and the recent occurrences. Nevertheless, I should like to impress upon you what has happened. It is the Chinese invasion of India and it is something much more than aggression on a particular point and particular border area. What has happened in NEFA in the months of September and October and more specially from the 20th October onwards is qualitatively and quantitatively very different from any frontier exchange. It is an invasion of India. What has happened really marks a turning point in India's history.

We are at the cross-roads of history and we are facing great historical problems on which depends our future. So, whether we are big men or small, we have to undertake the work of big men because only big people—big in mind, big in vision, big in determination—can face big problems. This is the first point I should like to impress upon you: to realize the extraordinary character of what has happened, which has changed or will change our whole national outlook and our history. If we are to face this adequately, as we have every

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From address to the meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, November 4, 1962

intention of doing, then we have to think in a big way. We have to forget many of our problems which normally pursue us and see this big problem which governs us all.

It may be—and there are some indications that it will be—that in solving the big problem we shall almost automatically solve many of our smaller problems, conflicts, controversies, etc. At the same time, it is clear that this big problem will require a tremendous effort on the nation's part and those of us who have been placed by fate and circumstances in a position of governmental authority, whether at the Centre or in the States, have a great responsibility which all of us put together can and will shoulder.

The Chinese invasion, in its quantity and quality, came almost like a thunderbolt, and reactions in India have also come like a thunderbolt. The response of the people all over the country, of all classes, of all areas, has been truly magnificent and wonderful. Most of the problems and conflicts that filled our newspapers have become things of the past. That itself shows the stuff that our people are made of. It is one thing to get entangled in small matters, but another to rise above those matters, when a big crisis comes. While much has happened in the past to depress us, what has now happened has heartened me and, I am sure, heartened all of you.

We might say that this terrible shock has occasioned almost a new birth of the Indian spirit and the soul of India awakened again, after some sleep. All that we, who are privileged to serve India, can say is that we shall do our utmost to be worthy of this responsibility and not to allow any personal, group or other considerations to come in the way. Constitutionally there might be a Central Government and the State Governments, but actually we are all one.

Normally, the National Development Council meets to consider the Plan. Our Plan is not something apart from our national life; it is of the warp and woof of it. How does the present situation affect our Plan and the economic and social processes that are taking place? That is a matter which we shall have to consider, although we may not at this meeting go into great details.

It is clear, to begin with, that the first priority and the first necessity is to do everything that helps us to meet this crisis and ultimately to push out the invader and the aggressor from our country. Everything else must give way to this first priority. We have to see what strength we have in us in doing it and prepare the ground not only for that purpose but for the time that comes afterwards. We have an immediate task, which is to free our country from the aggressor. But that itself is part of the task of strengthening and raising our country to higher levels.

It may be that some quirk of destiny has put us to this test, to take our minds away from the petty things of life and to test us and to prepare us for bigger things in the future. While we think of what might be called war effort, we have always to think of the building up of the country as well. War effort is not a question of only enrolling soldiers and sending them to the front. A soldier depends on the production of the country, on the morale of the country. Each soldier requires hundreds of men to feed him and to send him supplies. Even from the point of view of the war effort, we have to work in a variety of ways in agriculture and in industry. Apart from the war effort, it is also necessary to build the kind of India that we want. The two are not contradictory. In fact they fit in. If we do not do it, the war effort will be lacking.

For people to say that the Plan must be largely scrapped because we have trouble and invasion to face has no meaning to me. It shows an utter misunderstanding of the situation. It is war effort that requires the Plan.

The basis of the Plan is to strengthen the nation, and to increase production. Nothing is required more than production when you have such a problem to face. I am leaving out the military aspect, which is for our experts and soldiers to deal with. But the civil aspect is an essential part of any war effort of this kind. The civil aspect is important, production is important, training of technical personnel is important.

It becomes important to look at the Plan as an essential part of our effort. Therefore, all idea of giving up the Plan, which some people in their short-sightedness suggest, is very wrong. However, we shall have to examine the Plan, stick

to essentials and somewhat slow down those things that are not essential now.

It is obvious that agricultural and industrial production must increase. In industrial production things that are not essential may not increase; may, in fact, be even stopped. Everything has to be judged from the point of view of whether it is essential for our effort.

Take technical training. We have to increase it. Take normal education. This may on the first view appear not so terribly important but in reality it is. We may make variations in our system of training, have bigger classes, run double shifts or three shifts in schools, and not spend much on buildings. But we cannot stop the educational process or slow down the pace. Apart from education itself being essential for the effort, we cannot have a short vision and win the war and lose the peace afterwards. When we face a crisis we have to keep both in view: win the war and win the peace.

Take power. Everyone of you realizes the importance of electric power. On that depends the growth of industry, and to some extent the growth of agriculture. We cannot afford to lessen power. In fact we have to augment it. We have agreed to have an atomic power plant at Tarapore at present. Later there will be one in Rajasthan, and we have in view one in South India. For a variety of reasons we should not interfere with that programme. Power is essential to increase our strength, and the growth of atomic energy is also essential from other points of view. Therefore we cannot relax on that now. We cannot relax on most of the other things that we have to do. After all our Plan is a selective plan. We want to do much more. The war effort, and the Plan effort which is part of the war effort, will inevitably involve tremendous burdens.

We have to cut down the non-essentials not only in the Plan but generally in our other activities. We have to economize in whatever we may do. In wartime there will be considerable increase in production, not only of armaments but of other goods required by the armed forces. That means that a large amount of purchasing power will go to the people. We have to consider what the effect of this will be on prices, etc.



It is important that the price level should be maintained. There has been a tendency for the prices to rise which has worried us, although they have not risen appreciably except in certain pockets. Price levels are a very important matter because they affect the whole economic structure. Several goods will have to be restricted to some extent. We have to consider the organization of civil supplies, so that there may not be a lack of the goods that the large number of people need.

One thing on which we have laid stress repeatedly has been the co-operative movement. It has advanced quite considerably in the last few years. In the present emergency, this movement is very important. Co-operative stores are important in maintaining price levels.

Now I shall turn to some of the national committees we are forming. The National Defence Fund will have to have some representatives from the States also on it. It has been suggested that State Funds might also be opened as a part of the big fund.

The present emergency arose on October 20. An Emergency Committee of the Cabinet was formed. It is proposed very soon to form a National Defence Council. Broadly, it will consist of the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet, the present Chiefs of Staff, certain retired generals and retired senior people from the other Defence Services, some prominent public men, and Chief Ministers of States. We want this Council to be representative and not unwieldy.

Further, at various places, chiefly in cities like Bombay, Citizens' Committees have been formed. It is desirable to have some central co-ordination of them. For this purpose a Central Co-ordinating Committee is proposed. It will be 100 per cent non-official, except that the President has kindly agreed to be its patron. No official will be associated with it in an executive capacity, although we shall be there to advise it.

The Finance Minister and all of us have already made appeals for contributions and they are coming in. It is an exceedingly moving spectacle to see the kind of people who bring us their life's savings. Daily in the morning I spend some time at my house with large numbers of people who come with their donations. At the President's house the same

thing occurs. I am very greatly moved by the way people come, very young children and grown-ups and retired people, bringing whatever they have saved. Now we have to organize this. Last night the Finance Minister broadcast something about gold bonds which he proposes to issue very soon and he probably will give you some particulars about it.

The Citizens' Committees will help in keeping up the morale, in looking to it that prices do not shoot up, and in not allowing rumours to spread. One grave danger in moments of crisis is the spreading of rumour. This happens all over the world. We in India particularly are apt to listen to rumours and spread rumours. We have to deal with this situation.

### DEVELOPMENT IS DEFENCE

WHAT IS THE WAR effort? People think of the soldiers on the front, which is perfectly right. They are bearing the brunt of the danger. But in the kind of struggle in which we are involved, every peasant in the field is a soldier and every worker in the factory is a soldier. Our war effort essentially, apart from the actual fighting done, is in ever greater production in the field and the factory. It is an effort which depends greatly on our development. Today we are much more in a position to make that kind of effort in the field and the factory than ten or twelve years ago. We are not still adequately developed. I hope this very crisis will make us develop more rapidly.

A modern army fights with modern weapons which it has to manufacture itself in its own country. It is based on the development of industry, and industry must have an agricultural base if it is to succeed. Then there is power, which is essential from the point of view of the war effort, and from the point of view of industry and of even agriculture. Therefore,

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From speech in Lok Sabha while moving the resolution on Chinese aggression, November 8, 1962

we have to develop all round. To talk of scrapping the Five Year Plan so that we may concentrate on the war effort is not to understand the real springs of our strength. We have to carry on the Five Year Plan and go beyond it in many respects. Maybe, in some matters which are considered non-essential, we tone them down or leave them but in the major aims of the Five Year Plan we have to make the fullest effort.

Among the major things agriculture is highly important. How can a country fight when it is lacking in food? We have to grow more and more food. We have laid down the targets for our agricultural produce in our Five Year Plan, but in the last year or two we have fallen behind because of floods and other difficulties. Although we have fallen behind we have to aim at targets higher than even those we have laid down in the Third Plan. We should go down to the peasant and to the agriculturist and transform his present enthusiasm into greater production. Nothing is more cheering and heartening than the reaction amongst the peasants who have given their little mite. They should use their enthusiasm to achieve greater production. So also with industry; so also with many other things, like education. We must look upon all these development activities as part of the war effort. Through this process we shall not only build up our nation more swiftly but shall make it stronger and lay the base of the socialist structure which we aim at.

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WE HAVE MET here today to consider, in the particular context of development, the emergency that is upon us and to give a broad direction as to how we are to face it. When this emergency came suddenly upon us and we realized what it meant in terms of preparation, expenditure and all that, some people thought for a moment that it might have a serious effect on our development plans.

However, when we met last time, this Council was of the opinion that we should not allow the emergency to affect the

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From speech at the meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, New Delhi, January 18, 1963

development schemes as far as possible. The more we have considered this matter, the more we have seen that our development schemes, by and large, are an essential part of defence. I believe it has been calculated that 85 per cent of the developmental plans are essentially part of defence and even the remaining 15 per cent are indirectly concerned with it. Maybe a few things might be slowed down or otherwise adjusted, but by far the greater part of our Plan is itself essentially for defence, so that it is neither correct nor justifiable to draw a line and say, 'this is defence expenditure and this is development expenditure,' as if they were two separate things. For instance, it is essential from the point of view of defence for our agriculture to be flourishing. If our agricultural production is of positive instead of deficit quantities, not only would foreign exchange be saved but we would have a stable agricultural basis on which to build our industry and defence efforts. The fact that we produce enough in our agriculture is as important as guns.

The same applies to industry. There may be some odd industries which may well be postponed, but as we have framed our Plan it has been based on essential things which give strength to the nation. For instance, we shall have to lay stress on the growth of our defence industries as such. That is most important from the purely defence point of view. There may be a slight change in emphasis regarding the nature of industries which are given first priority but, by and large, the big industries that we have suggested in our Plan are necessary for defence. So also power generation; so also, of course, transport. All these are intimately connected with defence and these four or five items comprise 85 per cent of the Plan.

A part of what remains—social services and education—is equally important, from a slightly different point of view. Strictly from the point of view of defence we have to go ahead rapidly with the production of trained people—engineers and the like. That becomes highly important, but even other forms of education are equally important, because education will raise the level of our industrial effort and agricultural effort. Really, therefore, there is little choice left except to go on with our Plan with some minor alterations here and there.

This means a tremendous burden—the direct war burden and an indirect war burden, if I may say so, which is the Plan burden. It may be said of course that there are limits to what a nation can bear. But the limits ultimately depend upon the emergency. Nobody in normal times thinks of raising revenues or spending as much as one does in war. But when a war comes those limits become elastic; they have to become elastic because the nation fights for survival. So the approach has to be one of doing the utmost we can.

There is another aspect to this. There is a mass upsurge in the country. This enthusiasm is a very commendable thing and it has heartened us. The greatest part of the Defence Fund has come from small men. I am by no means criticizing the big people, but it is the small people who have subscribed heavily to it. However, we can hardly depend only upon the Defence Fund to carry on the war. It is obviously not possible and it is not fair.

As far as the burden is concerned, it is better to try to make it more equitable by other means. There is also the psychological aspect that people should feel that they are meeting this emergency themselves by their efforts even if it hurts. In fact, it should hurt. It is not a question of “even if.” We should do this till it hurts. It is hurting many people and it has hurt and taken the lives of many people and for any person then to raise the argument that it hurts financially is not good enough.

The mere fact that we try to meet this war situation as far as possible through our own resources will be a big thing, both for the country and for the outside world. All of you know that we are being handsomely helped by other countries, notably the United States of America and England, and by other countries too. I think we are completely justified in asking and taking that help. I have no qualms or compunction in my mind in doing so, but our justification comes really when we make every effort to shoulder the burden ourselves. It would be completely wrong from the point of view of our own people, and even more so from the point of view of others, for them to feel that we are relaxing or we are not shouldering the burden adequately and passing it on to them. That will

not be right in any sense. It will have a bad effect on our morale.

If they see that we are doing our utmost, even when it becomes painful to us, in carrying on fully with our own efforts, then they will appreciate that attitude and will be more inclined to help generously. But the main thing is facing this situation. Facing it courageously and with every desire to shoulder that burden would itself be a very fine response both for our own people and those abroad. They will realize that we are deadly serious about it.

As for the development plans, they were and are meant to raise the standard of living of our people, but they are also meant essentially to strengthen the nation altogether. It is not real strength for us to get arms or aeroplanes from abroad although that becomes very necessary in a crisis. The real strength comes from our relying largely on our own production, on our own resources. In fact, you know that the big and powerful countries of the world are the countries which have industrialized themselves and thereby gained strength, whether for war or for peaceful progress. Real strength therefore comes from industrialisation, from modern techniques, whether they apply to agriculture or industry. The test of real strength is how much steel you produce, how much power you produce and use. So, if in meeting the immediate crisis we delay the processes of gaining real strength, we shall not have done well. All these reasons compel us to come to the conclusion that we must go ahead as far as possible in acquiring this real strength by continuing with our development programme, with minor variations, of course. We must do it from the point of view of both the immediate war situation and the future. You may well wonder what this so-called war situation is. There is no war going on at present, no action of that type. But I cannot tell you what is likely to happen. The point I wish you to appreciate and realize is that the Chinese withdrawal or cease-fire or the fact of the Colombo proposals, whatever turn they may take—even supposing they take the turn, as they well might, of continuing this cease-fire for some time—does not make any essential difference to the situation, which is that we have been attacked and menaced by the Chinese Government and we may be

attacked and menaced again and again. Even if we are not attacked, the fact of a menace will be there in the background. I do not know for how long, but certainly for some considerable time to come. Therefore, the only way for us to protect our country, our self-respect and our integrity is to continue the process of strengthening ourselves as rapidly as possible both militarily and economically. The impression that may have spread that all the trouble is over or may soon be over is completely unjustified from any point of view. Even if there be no actual fighting on our borders in the near future, such an impression should not be permitted, and you should try to lay stress on this aspect in your States and before the public. We are not warmongers. We do not want war for war's sake. We want to avoid it. But we cannot avoid war by being weak. We cannot take the risk of being attacked and not being fully ready to meet the attack. Therefore, all this preparation must go on, the expenditure must go on, and the spirit of the people must be kept up.

One of the items is the Village Volunteer Force scheme. I shall not go into its details, but it seems to me that this scheme is very important as it affects the vast majority of our population living in rural areas. It will make them do things which are good for our development and for the war effort. And if this programme succeeds even 50 per cent, it will be a tremendous thing, a near miracle which will change the face of India. The Volunteer Force is not going to be sent to the front, but it will be used in the villages, not only for defence but if necessary for law and order and everything else. The main thing is to keep up the people's morale and to turn their enthusiasm into a particular direction. They must feel that if they are doing better in agriculture it is not only good for them, but it is indeed a part of the war effort. I particularly draw your attention to this scheme prepared by our Community Development people and seek your full co-operation in it.

I should like to say that any attempt to reduce what is called the social service side would be unfortunate. Whether it is health or education, both are vital to the community always, more especially in wartime. The casualties of war by enemy action are far less than the casualties from diseases

which spread in wartime especially amongst the soldiers and others. Therefore, it is vital to retain schemes of health and education. Education is vital from yet another point of view. In the past we have talked a lot about basic education. How far we have given effect to it is doubtful. But the idea of basic education—or of education that is connected with productive work—is highly important. It is important again, if I may say so, from the point of view of war and from the point of view of discipline and training. I would suggest to you, as I have suggested to our Education Ministry, to wake up to this business. I am told that some States are alive to this need while others are not, and consider it an archaic idea. It is not archaic. It is the most modern concept meant to make a person fit intellectually and otherwise. Another aspect is productive work. Some people think that productive work means turning the Charkha. The Charkha is certainly productive work, but there are dozens of other kinds of work. Let the schools prepare bandages. There are hundreds of other things that are necessary for the war effort which can be produced by the schools.

Then there is technical education. It is of great importance always, and is especially so now. We have said previously that we should give a large number of scholarships to deserving and able students—scholarships which are really adequate, not just a few rupees. If a person is going to learn engineering, he has to be paid adequately and we have said that this should be done. I think this matter becomes even more important now when we want plenty of technically trained persons. The fact that we give a really large number of scholarships to persons who will profit by them is a thing which will have a very good reception by the public. We would like to draw from the people a good deal of money by way of taxes, direct or indirect. Keeping this in view, I think that, apart from general education and health, the award of scholarships is a good idea. Therefore, to say that education or health activities should be stopped is not correct. What are we fighting for? For the benefit of the people, and we must help them with a large number of scholarships—and I lay stress on the number being very large—for



medical courses, engineering courses and other specialized courses. I attach very great importance to this. It would cost us some money but money should not come in the way. The reality of what would come out of it will be far greater than the money quantum.

Now about scientific advance. I wish all of us realized what a vital part it plays in life today. War is undoubtedly governed by it. It is not governed by Rajput chivalry; Rajput chivalry is very good; it gives spirit to the man but it is not real war. Real war is governed by scientific advance. Today you want scientific knowledge, you want scientific processes of production. You want it for health, and for nearly everything else. You will find that in most countries the amount that is spent on scientific research is a very large proportion of their income or revenue. We have increased ours considerably in the last fifteen years; but we must realize that it is still a relatively small part. Even small countries in Europe spend a very large amount of their revenue income on scientific progress because they know it pays them back.

I have said that there is a menace hanging over us. That has an advantage too. Psychologically it keys up the people to do things much more than otherwise. Of course, war is a gross and terrible thing; it produces wrong attitudes in human beings. But it has been the mother of inventions, not only in the art of war but in other things also. In the same way an emergency like this is very helpful as it directs people's minds towards development. If somehow we can take out the bad part of war and have the good part only, it would be excellent but one cannot easily do that. Anyhow, we have got to face this emergency and the way to face it is to profit by it and march ahead with the development programme at a faster rate than we might otherwise have done. That is the way to look at it. That is the aspect which we should lay stress on—to profit by the emergency and strengthen ourselves. It is no doubt a menace that we have to face but there is another side of it; it is one of the greatest opportunities that you can have to raise the level of the nation in every way.

**NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE ARTS**

THE STATE CAN promote the arts by providing a helpful environment. The environment for the arts in the immediate past in India has not been very helpful. Firstly, before independence all our efforts were directed to the political field. Secondly, during the long period of British rule in India we thought far too much of foreign models. That trend was good to the extent it supplied new impulses but when it was overdone, the arts became imitative, losing their creative tendencies. An art cannot be imitated; it has to come out of people's lives and urges.

India is rich in artistic forms. But they have suffered from a long period of stagnation and repetition. What more wonderful things can we have than some of the old specimens of Indian architecture? They are amazing in their strength and beauty, which we miss in our later forms of architecture which are all repetition, all ornateness. We lost that grand style in architecture which we see in the other countries where our artisans went, at Angkor-Vat in Indo-China, at Borobudur in Indonesia and in many other places.

Take the classical dances of India. For various reasons these dances began to die off. It almost was thought that it was improper and immoral to dance. Voices were raised against our dance forms and they nearly died. Fortunately, there were some persons and groups who kept these dances alive, and we see how when those restrictions and restrictive ideas were removed, they have begun to flourish in India. This is true not only of our classical dances, but even more so of the folk dances of India which are really wonderful in their variety. We have these folk dances in Kerala, as in other regions, but the tribal areas are richest in the folk dances. The

Republic Day celebration in Delhi provides an occasion for presenting the folk dances from every part of India. An appreciative environment is helping the dances of India to grow.

Similarly, I am told that considerable advance is being made all over India in the musical domain. In regard to painting and the like arts, I am not quite sure where we are. We have eminent artists who carry on an older tradition rigidly. I feel that the older tradition has lost force. It is graceful but rather lifeless. We have new artists who are powerfully influenced by Western models. I believe they are doing good work even if all their work is not of top rank.

There is a danger today of our artists relapsing into mediocrity. Of course, all writers or artists or sculptors cannot be brilliant. But academics of art, literature or any other form of culture should try to set high standards in their respective fields. You have got this academy, the Kala Parishad. I earnestly hope that while you encourage every artist, you will try to keep the standards high and not bring them down by not distinguishing between the good and the bad and the mediocre. If you do not do that, the academy itself becomes mediocre and its judgment will be of no value.

There is a good deal of talent in respect of the arts in the country, provided opportunities are given to them to develop. I am amazed at the arts of the tribal folk who have not gone to any school of art or dancing. Again, take child art. An annual exhibition is organized in Delhi by Shankar of the art of the world's children. It is an astonishingly good exhibition and it is surprising how children who did not have any routine training can express themselves. The artists must, of course, have training. But the training, if it suppresses the creativeness of the individual and merely teaches some formal message, kills art. I would like this academy and other academies to encourage natural creativeness and at the same time keep up proper standards. It is also important that the various academies in different States keep in touch with each other and with the Central Academies of Literature, Art, Music, Dance and Drama. Thereby, you learn from each other and give much to each other.

In the old days the arts in India were encouraged more especially by the ruling princes and rich patrons. Now the princes and the rich men hardly exist. Therefore, the State has to encourage them. I entirely agree that the State, while encouraging them, should not interfere and lay down canons for the arts. Laying down canons should be the duty of the literary and artistic associations or academies. The State should help an academy or association but should leave it free to function as it likes. That is broadly the policy which we follow in regard to the Central Academies.

### TOWARDS A NEW EQUILIBRIUM

IT IS ALWAYS a pleasure to meet and address the new generation, for in their minds and eyes there is glimpse of the future. Yet I find some difficulty in saying anything which will really be in tune with their thinking. Many long years separate us. We belong essentially to the Gandhi Age in India and it was the inestimable privilege of many of us to be closely associated with that great man who fashioned us as he did the millions of India. We saw India under foreign rule, we struggled against it and we triumphed under Gandhiji's leadership, and saw the dawn of freedom with all its glory and its aches and pains. What does all this mean to you? Is it one other of the numerous traditions which have built up India through the ages? You have not had the emotional experience through which my generation passed, nor did you participate in that great struggle which led, through the unique methods which Gandhiji evolved, to India's freedom. You are children of free India and perhaps you take that freedom for granted.

Apart from our struggle for freedom and its powerful effect on the men and women of my generation, we have seen mighty changes in the world. There have been world wars, great revolutions, and conflicts between rival political, economic

and social ideologies. We have seen also something which is even more important. This is the tremendous advance made by science and technology in recent years, which perhaps is the greatest revolution of all.

Changes took place even in the past ages, but the pace was relatively slow, and man had time to adjust himself to the new conditions. But in recent years the pace of change has been amazingly swift, and it has been difficult for human beings to adjust themselves to this ever-changing situation. They may make a superficial and external adjustment, but the old rhythm of life has gone, and there is lack of harmony and this is reflected in our political struggles and economic conflicts. The new situation that has arisen because of this pace of change has no analogy in history.

This process of change through science and technology is seen everywhere. As it spreads, the old gods or the old supreme values cease to have the same validity as before. Physics and mathematics lead to new conceptions which are hard to grasp, where matter disappears and all is energy. One might almost say that the solid world dissolves into some mathematical concept or illusion, perhaps approaching the concept of *maya*.

It is not surprising that this should result in an uprooting of the present generation from its old standards and values and the search for something new. How can we come to terms with this new situation? While discarding the old mysteries, we live at the edge of a new kind of mystery. The reaction of people to this varies. A few are driven to deeper thought and enquiry and a search for ultimate values, but most others, finding it too difficult to make any sense out of this confusion, relapse into cynicism and negative attitudes, rejecting the old patterns and standards and evolving no new ones. This process has affected the Western world much more than India as the West has advanced much more in technology and its practical applications. But in India also the beginnings are visible.

We labour to bring about a Welfare State in India. In countries where such a State has been established in so far as the material things of life are concerned, we see patterns

of behaviour which shock the older generation. There is growing juvenile delinquency and a rejection of all set patterns and even of basic national cultures. While on the one side we see tremendous advance, on the other we notice a disintegration of society, because the cement of moral and ethical standards and patterns of behaviour gradually melts away. In any event, we cannot stop or reverse the current of change which science and technology have brought about in great parts of the world. The question for us to consider is whether we can retain in this process some of the basic values to which humanity has attached great importance in the past, and whether the spiritual element in life, using the word in its widest sense, can be retained or augmented, or whether it will fade away. Without that spiritual element, probably the disintegration of society will proceed in spite of all material advance.

It may be that out of this tremendous period of transition a new equilibrium will be established and our highly mechanized society will throw up new standards and values providing a new base of civilization.

We talk of things material and spiritual. Yet it is a little difficult to draw a line between the two. Every great wave of human thought which has affected millions of human beings has something spiritual in it. The great revolutions, whether in the United States or France or Russia or China, would not have succeeded without a spiritual element which appealed to the deeper instincts of man. Social justice has always exercised an appeal to sensitive persons. The basic attraction of Marxism for millions of people was not, I think, its attempt at scientific theory but its passion for social justice. To that extent, therefore, it supplied a spiritual need. It appealed to many intellectuals for other reasons also. Unfortunately, to my thinking, it got tied up in its practice too much with the ways of violence and the suppression of the individual, even though this was supposed to be done for the common good.

We come back therefore to the question of standards and values and unless we have these, all the material good that we may achieve may lead to conflicts of the soul and disintegration of the social group.

It is true that many individuals have ideals and some of them a social conscience, and these have played a considerable role in social progress. But it is also true that a society does not change itself substantially by the voluntary renunciation by a privileged class of its position. The privileged class is led to believe, as a group, that it is inherently right for it to have that position. It is only through pressure from the underprivileged that major reforms have been achieved. It is also true that the general character of social, political and intellectual life in a social group is determined by the productive resources of that group. As we adopt higher techniques for productive and creative activities, they will affect our thinking and our lives. But it does not necessarily follow that this should lead to our discarding the spiritual and higher cultural values of life. We should not associate spirituality and culture with privilege on the one hand and poverty on the other.

It has become inevitable for us to fit in with the modern world of science and technology and it will be dangerous for us to imagine that we can live apart from it. It will be equally dangerous for us to think that we should accept technology without those basic values which are of the essence of civilized man.

We have accepted in India as our objective a socialist pattern of society. That means not only economic organization but something deeper which involves a way of thinking and living. The acquisitive society, whose chief aim is profit-making, not only brings conflict in its train but is opposed to the basic urge of modern man for social justice. Socialism is based on the growth of material resources as well as social justice and a co-operative method of working.

There is such a thing as a national culture with its deep roots in the nation's soil and in its history. To uproot a nation is to destroy the soul of that nation which made it a living entity through the ages. This is particularly true of a country like India whose roots go deep down and whose thought has enriched her and given her strength to overcome disaster and survive even the dangers that success brings.

But can we live in that past? We have to live in the

present and mould the future. That duty and high task are especially cast on the young men and women of today. They will have great burdens to carry and great difficulties to face. But they will also have the chance of high adventure and great living, for great living comes by attachment to great causes. They will have to fight the many evils that beset us and narrow us and make us unworthy of this adventure, like the evils of religious conflict and bigotry, of provincialism, linguism and casteism. There is no hope for us if we allow these disruptive tendencies to influence our national life.

Above all, we shall have to work hard. For it is only through selfless work that anything worth-while is achieved. And we shall have to work without fear and hatred, and not succumb to a narrow nationalism which is out of place in the world of today and out of keeping with our high ideals. That was the lesson of Gandhiji. And it was by acting up to this in some measure that we achieved our freedom. It is by hard work and through freedom from fear and hatred that we shall reach the next great goal in our nation's pilgrimage.

Here we stand in Delhi City, symbol of old India and the new. It is not the narrow lanes and houses of Old Delhi or the wide spaces and rather pretentious buildings of New Delhi that count, but the spirit of this ancient city. For Delhi has been an epitome of India's history with its succession of glory and disaster, and with its great capacity to absorb many cultures and yet remain itself. It is a gem with many facets, some bright and some darkened by age, presenting the course of India's life and thought during the ages. Even the stones here whisper to our ears of the ages of long ago and the air we breathe is full of the dust and fragrance of the past, as also of the fresh and piercing winds of the present. We face the good and the bad of India in Delhi City which has been the grave of many empires and the nursery of a republic. What a tremendous story is hers! The tradition of millennia of our history surrounds us at every step, and the procession of innumerable generations passes before our eyes. My own generation will join that procession, and it will then be for you, young men and women, to be the standard-bearers of all the good that we have lived for and we seek. May it be given



to you to face life's problems with clear eyes and without fear and ill-will.

### BOOKS TO REACH THE PEOPLE

ONE OF THE major, revolutionary developments in the world has been the advent of printing and of books, thus opening out the avenues of knowledge and communication to vast numbers of people. I remember reading in some book long ago that one of the wisest men of the middle ages in Europe, Erasmus, had a library of about 50 volumes! That shows the difference between the old times and the present. At present a vast number of books are at our disposal in libraries, even of private individuals.

A depressing thought comes to me. While printing developed in Europe where as a result many books appeared, in India there was no printing for a long time. Even though some of the printed books of Europe came to India during the time of the Mughal Emperors, they apparently attached no importance to them and made no attempt to get printing started in India. It shows that in spite of a great deal of pomp and circumstance, they lacked a spirit of going ahead. They were representatives of a static civilization while Europe, backward in material comforts and even in physical well-being compared to India of those days, was nevertheless a dynamic society going ahead. It has always struck me as very peculiar that printing, which any people or any government should have jumped at for its utility, apart from its cultural value, took such a mighty long time to develop in India. It developed only after the coming of the British. A society cannot progress unless it has a vital urge and uses the opportunities which come to it.

After a long time, our society is showing that urge, and a small part of that urge is represented by books.

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From speech on the occasion of presenting State Awards for Excellence in Printing and Designing of Books and Publications, New Delhi, December 19, 1958

Without books one has to rely on human memory and on tradition. These have their value but obviously a limited value. The books bring us the experience of our forebears. But if the books do not circulate, only the elite will have them. Printing brings an expansion of the opportunities of gaining knowledge and therefore of making progress of various kinds. Take science. Scientific knowledge today is not the result of the effort of any one man but is made up of knowledge accumulated by tens of thousands of scientists. Books play an enormous part in distributing this knowledge.

If books are essential, the contents of the books are important. The outward appearance of the book is important, as everything good and beautiful is important. It encourages a good taste.

If we want books to be good, we also want books to reach many people and not a select coterie. This is the object presumably of the writer of the book, as also of the publisher. They both want a large circulation, and yet oddly enough most of the writers and most of the publishers in India think in rather limited terms. The writer probably uses a language which many people do not understand at all. It is too difficult or abstruse. He writes consciously or unconsciously for a select crowd. The result is that the circulation of his book is limited. Looking at the programme which was presented to me, I read a remarkable sentence describing today's proceedings: मुद्रण-आकल्पन की उत्कृष्टता के लिये राज्य पुरस्कार प्रदान करना I shall be glad to know many of you sitting here understand this. I should be glad if somebody went and had a Gallup poll in Chandni Chowk in Delhi and found out how many understood it and how many will understand it. This is a typical example not only of the mysteries of the working of the Government of India but also generally of the writing trade in India.

There is this tendency towards writing a language either in books or newspapers which relatively few people understand. The attempt is not so much to get across to an audience but to show off. The result is that circulations of books are limited. If circulations are limited, all kinds of things follow which restrict the reading of books, the printing of books and the

publication of books. Take newspapers. A huge country like India has astonishingly few newspaper readers. The circulation of a few newspapers may have gone up to a hundred thousand. In advanced countries circulations are not only bigger but there are far more newspapers with good circulations and the total reading public for newspapers is very vast indeed. Why is that so? It is not because there are not people who do not know how to read. In spite of a fairly large percentage of illiteracy as against a relatively small but growing percentage of literacy, the actual number of people who are literate in India is tremendous. Twenty per cent of our population is a vast number which is far greater than the entire population of many countries in the world. Yet we do not reach them. How will we reach them? A writer will reach them not by thinking of some literary coterie but by putting himself in their position and see what they can read and understand with ease and comfort. If he does this, he will see circulations of books and newspapers growing.

I suggest, for the consideration of the writers essentially and also of others like the publishing trade, that if books are to go far, they have to be cheap. Books can be cheap only if they have large circulations. Books will have large circulations only if they are written in a style which can be understood by large numbers of people. One step should lead to the other. Otherwise limitations come in and as a consequence the reading public does not expand.

Good designing and printing of books is of very considerable importance and I am happy that progress is being made in India in these respects. I would congratulate those who got these awards and also the Ministry on giving these awards. These awards will make designers, printers and book-binders think and will help to raise standards and to create a taste among readers for possession of beautifully printed books.

## PURPOSE OF ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE TO A large extent is a product of the age. It cannot isolate itself from the social conditions, the thinking and the objectives and the ideals of the age to which it belongs. Mr. Humayun Kabir referred to the static condition in regard to architecture in India in the last 200 or 300 years. That really was a reflection of the static condition of the Indian mind or Indian conditions. In fact, India has been static, architecturally considered, for the last few hundred years. The great buildigns which we admire date back to an earlier period. We were static even before the British came. In fact the British came because we were static. A society which ceases to go ahead necessarily becomes weak. This weakness shows itself in all forms of creative activity.

Apart from these basic considerations, the nature of architecture depends on many factors. It depends on climate, obviously. It depends on the type of functions which the people living in the buildings have to perform. It depends on the state of technological growth, and on the material used.

The purpose which a building serves depends to a large extent on the functions which a society performs. There is often a lag between architectural designs, or indeed, the social framework and the changes taking place in the technological field. Mr. Humayun Kabir referred to Gothic cathedrals which in many ways were representative of the age in which they grew up. But in the early years of the industrial revolution when the steam engine and the railways came and when railway stations had to be built, the architects tried to make some of the big railway stations look as if they were Gothic cathedrals. They were not able to get out of the clutches of the past. The past was good—but only when it was the present. We cannot bring it forward and put up a Gothic cathedral and call it a railway terminus. I give this example because there is a tendency to do this kind of thing, more so in a country like India where we hold fast to traditions. No

tradition which makes one a prisoner of one's mind or body is ever good.

The architect is obviously limited by his material. If technology gives us more materials and more power to mould those materials, new avenues open up for using them. Today I believe very good work is being done all over the world by creative architects. It is a delight to see plans and designs and pictures of this new work being done. We should not be afraid of innovations.

I have welcomed very greatly one experiment in India. Chandigarh. Many people argue about it, some like it, and some dislike it. It is the biggest example in India of experimental architecture. It hits you on the head, and makes you think. You may squirm at the impact but it has made you think and imbibe new ideas, and the one thing which India requires in many fields is being hit on the head so that it may think. I do not like every building in Chandigarh. I like some of them very much. I like the general conception of the township very much but, above all, I like the creative approach, not being tied down to what has been done by our forefathers but thinking in new terms, of light and air and ground and water and human beings. Therefore, Chandigarh is of enormous importance. There is no doubt that Le Corbusier is a man with a powerful and creative type of mind. For the same reason, he may produce extravagances occasionally but it is better to be extravagant than be a person with no mind at all.

The social functions of today bear on our architecture. We may not, even if we have the capacity, build a Taj Mahal. It does not fit in with the society of today. In the ultimate analysis a thing which fits in with the social functions is beautiful.

## A NEW PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORY

I NEVER STUDIED history in the formal way but informally. I have been greatly interested in history, chiefly because of my seeking to understand the past rather in terms of the present and even of the future to come. I have approached it as an exciting story. I have approached it as a developing drama, leading up to the present and making me wonder where it will lead to in the future. I never got into the habit of trying to learn the names of kings, dates, etc. And I confess I am singularly ignorant of names and dates except those I could not help picking up.

The whole course of history has fascinated me. Being an Indian, facts relating to the past of India interested me more. Being an Asian, facts relating to Asia also interested me more. But on the whole what has interested me really is the story of man developing himself wherever he might be. It is from that point of view I have tried to co-ordinate such little knowledge of history as I possess.

I remember about 40 years or more ago one of the earliest books dealing with world history came out, namely H. G. Wells's *Outline of History*. It is very easy to criticize Wells, but his was a new approach, and it was a great success. He did try to bring in one compass the tremendous story of man. He did also something which was new for most European leaders, that is, he paid some attention to what was happening in Asia; his world was not merely the Mediterranean world in ancient times, as had been imagined in Europe. China came in, and India, the Middle East and the other countries. Since then this type of history has become more common. Other forms of history, social histories and the like, have been written and they attract much more attention than the political histories of the past.

So far as Asia is concerned, we have been grossly maltreated by most historians from other countries. And as a reaction to that, sometimes our own historians have perhaps gone too far. I suppose it is difficult for any person with

From inaugural address to the Asian History Congress, New Delhi, December 9, 1961

strongly held ideas to write what might be called an impartial history. Sometimes I have wondered if impartiality was not the quality of a weak mind. There must be a positive quality in a human being. If there is this positive quality, that aspect of the mind impresses itself on the subject which it deals with and perhaps slightly distorts it. I do not know how we can get over this difficulty. On the one side, there is the nationalist history which, starting from a strong nationalist bias, praises everything that is national at the expense of other things and, on the other side, there is the reverse of this. In the case of India, a Western scholar, especially from the United Kingdom, inevitably tended to look at the history of India as if the past few thousand years were a kind of a preparation for the coming British dominion in India. And there was the nationalist reaction to it. It seems to me that our historians burrow too much into details and thereby lose sight of the main theme. Both these approaches were limited and both failed to look at the picture in a broad way. In the main, the nationalist approach and imperialist approach distort history. They sometimes suppress history.

We have had examples of some kind of an organized approach or a philosophy of history, and this has led to curious results. One of the books which I had occasion to read in the leisure moments of my prison life was Spengler's *Decline of the West*. I was rather fascinated by it, as one is fascinated by some evil thing. I dislike intensely its sweeping approach. It seems to me that as soon as we start looking at history with any preconceived approach, it turns us away from some patent facts which do not fit in with our theory. And we select things which agree with our own thinking. It does not do harm provided we can get the main currents of history right and if stress is placed on one aspect in order to draw attention to it. The stress on the social aspect has certainly been very helpful in balancing one's approach to history.

The old idea of writing a history of any one country has become progressively out of date. It is impossible today to think of the history of a country isolated from the rest of the world. The world is getting integrated. We have really to consider history today in a world perspective.

What is the basic philosophy of history? I try to think of history as a process that leads man to higher and better stages of progress. Then I find to my surprise that those higher stages have been represented by great men in the long past. Having been fascinated by the scientific and technological civilization which has been built up in Europe and in America, I gradually come to a stage when it seems to me to have stopped. I begin seeking for something deeper than merely the physical aspect of civilization. I find that my mind is more interested in what Plato or the Buddha said, which has a timelessness about it. So I wonder if our present-day history, having fulfilled its destiny in so far as science and technology are concerned, is at all moving on to a higher plane of human existence. I do not presume that the average historian will be able to answer such a question unless he himself becomes a great seer who can pierce the veil of the future. But he can help in putting things in proper perspective.

The immediate object of the History Congress should of course be to straighten out all the twists which Asian history has received at the hands of Europeans. While some of them are very fine historians, their approach has nevertheless been based on Europe being the centre of the world, and naturally that affects their appreciation of the histories of Asian countries.

### IMPORTANCE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY

IN A COUNTRY like India there are any number of places which deserve careful working out from the archaeological point of view. And yet I think how much destruction there has been in India of archaeological sites either deliberately or through carelessness. I remember when I first heard of Mohenjo-daro how tremendously excited I felt, as when I first

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From speech at the centenary celebration of the Archaeological Survey of India and the International Conference of Asian Archaeology, New Delhi, December 14, 1961



read of the Indians who went out of India in the early years of the Christian era to South-East Asia and put up great buildings there which even today are among the famous monuments of the world. I was excited partly because of a certain pride in our nation's past. Apart from that, there was a sense of disclosure, letting me have a peep into the past and filling in a large number of vacant spaces in history.

In this highly utilitarian age, how does one justify archaeology? I have no clear answer to that except that I am quite sure it is very important. There are things of the highest value, like art and goodness, which are far more important than many utilitarian objects that we have. Some years ago a matter of conscience arose for us when we were considering what we should do about Nagarjunakonda in the South. There was this buried city gradually coming out, and there was the proposal to erect a dam there and create a big reservoir which would supply water for irrigation. There was a direct conflict between the claims of today in the sense of practical utility and the claims of the past. We were troubled by the conflict. But it was inevitable that we should decide ultimately in favour of the present. And that turned out to be the best way of preserving the past also. The old relics of Nagarjunakonda were rapidly crumbling into dust and ashes, and we decided that they should be removed bodily and placed on a little island in the middle of the lake and preserved in such a way as to prevent their decay. The present impinged upon us and ultimately forced us to give preference to a great irrigation project. I suppose we have to make such choices often enough.

The past in India surrounds us everywhere. If you go for a drive in Delhi, it comes up before you in the shape of old ruins. Indians on the whole are said to be not a history-conscious people, like the Arabs or the Chinese. But we have roots in the long past and our sense of history expressed itself in mythology, in epics, in monuments, etc. I am not sure if that method of expression which developed in India was not more powerful in influencing the minds of the mass of the people.

Because of the nature of the past in India it becomes

very important to find out through archaeological work what this past was. We have very few books on history in Sanskrit, but we have an abundance of material which throws interesting light on the past. This material, if properly inquired into, helps us greatly to unravel our history. In my boyhood Indian history was divided into the ancient period, a brief chapter; the medieval or Muslim period, a bigger chapter; and the British period, which was the main concern of the book. This was very odd. I have always been unable to understand or to appreciate this division of India into Hindu India and Muslim India. You might as well have a Christian India, meaning the period of British rule. It is unscientific to divide history like this. In fact the whole of the past thousands of years of Indian history was written about in the early years of this century as a kind of a prelude to the final culmination of Indian history in British rule. Of course, British dominion in India is an important part of the history of India, which affected India and brought India in touch with the modern world. Nevertheless we get a truer perspective of India's history by looking at the ancient records of the deeds of the people and the great men of India. These give us a greater understanding of the growth of our people.

I venture to suggest that because of the lack of precise historical material in India on the past, the other material available, which is fairly rich, is very important. I believe the Mohenjo-daro scripts have not been deciphered yet. We may know something more of our history if they are deciphered. Anyhow, from the practical point of view, archaeological studies bring us information which is important. Above all, they give a certain balance and perspective to our minds. Archaeology makes us a little more humble than we otherwise would be in this mechanical civilization.

Of course, the mechanical civilization of today is a magnificent achievement and yet doubt creeps into my mind often enough whether many of its achievements have that deeper significance which we attach to human progress. They make the human beings who are influenced by them more and more trivial. Therefore, this look into the past gives us a certain depth of feeling and understanding.

## FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

**Y**OUR SEMINAR HAS discussed a very important question. There is always a tendency for governmental as well as private agencies to work to suppress information or to limit it. Sometimes the economic structure may be such that in itself it limits information being widespread. We live in an age of great technological changes and the media of information go on increasing and becoming all-pervasive. Any rule that you lay down may become out of date because of the technological developments. Even so it is useful for the U.N. and the nations which are members of the U.N. to look at the question of freedom of information frequently.

We talk about the free world. What is the free world ? The so-called free world has many countries which are not absolutely free and where information is deliberately suppressed. Then there are certain countries which, as a matter of policy, suppress information of a particular kind.

I would say that although freedom of information is of vital consequence, even that freedom becomes unimportant where there is absolute poverty prevailing. Freedom of life itself is more important than any other freedom. If through poverty and for other reasons you do not have even the capacity to live worthily, all other freedoms do not count. The starving man has no freedom. It is only a great philosopher who even when he starves can take advantage of the freedom and right of expression. Normally a person who is starving will not think of freedom of expression; he will think of food. Therefore, the problem takes a somewhat different shape and form, depending on whether a country is developed or under-developed.

In India every person has a vote on attaining the age of 21, whether he is educated or uneducated, whether he lives in cities or in the high mountains or the plains. It is obvious that all of these people, though they can exercise the vote, do not have the means to exercise it after acquiring the fullest information. They may not be educated

enough or may not have access to information. I feel that freedom from ignorance is as essential as freedom from hunger.

In the use of the mass media very much depends on the conditions of the people, the stage of their economic development and of education. A good medium may be utilized for very wrong purposes. The question has been asked recently whether the medium of advertisement may not be misused so as to distort people's minds. The mass media which are very useful have an element of danger in them in that they may be distorted for private gain. The only safeguard is widespread education and a measure of social well-being.

We have just had general elections in this country. These elections have created a good deal of excitement, as elections normally do. On the whole, our elections have passed off well. But there is one aspect of the elections which I would like to mention. We have rules and regulations as to what should and should not be done in elections. But I was shocked by some posters which were issued by candidates. Some of them were blasphemous, indecent and highly objectionable. I have no doubt that the electorate, through no fault of theirs, must have been influenced by them in a wrong direction. That kind of thing cannot be justified by any kind of freedom.

Ultimately it means that in order that your freedom should flourish, there must be a basic degree of educational development. Education is the most important requisite to open up the individual. The United Nations talks about the development of the individual; and the Constitution of India discusses the dignity of the individual. The dignity of the group, of the nation, and of the world, can come only through the development of the individual. By education I do not mean merely the ability to read and write. I mean the development of some measure of culture and tolerance.

In India there has been, compared to the West, a remarkable tolerance in regard to religious thinking. But there has been an equally remarkable lack of tolerance in regard to social life. Tolerance means toleration of others' opinions; not the opinions of those who agree with one but opinions which are opposed to one's own. Tolerance is a state of mind. It is essential because the world is a varied place.

The variety of views in the world makes it still more exciting. Truth is much too big to be comprehended by any individual and for anybody to say that he knows it. If information—including conflicting views and sometimes even contradictory views—comes from every quarter, we are more likely to arrive at the truth out of that welter than if only one aspect of it was presented. The whole concept of freedom of information rests on this idea. I entirely agree that sources of information should be as free and as varied as possible.

It is all very well to lay down a principle, but economic conditions influence its application. The rich person can put his idea across in a hundred ways by adopting the modern mass media. The poor person cannot do that; he can shout out in the market place but cannot do much more. To say that we give an even chance to everybody is not correct. It would become an even chance only when everybody is on the same level. The rich group or the rich nation can flood the country and the world through the mass media with its own view of things which may or may not be the correct view.

We live in a changing world and a changing world brings changing problems. I am convinced that the more freedom there is the better. Suppression, even of what I may consider wrong, is bad. I am prepared to take the risk of allowing truth and the so-called right and the so-called wrong to appear on the scene.

Toleration depends upon one's knowledge of others. In the previous centuries people knew very little about the other countries. The result was that each country had the idea that beyond its borders lived barbarians. Each country thought that knowledge, culture and civilization were confined to its own borders. We are beginning to get to know something about others. Toleration of an opinion, even though you disagree with it, is a sign of culture and civilization. But before you tolerate something, you must know what it is. Therefore, I consider that the principle of freedom of information through the press, the radio and other mass media is very important.

A. RELATIONS WITH CHINA

**HAPPENINGS IN TIBET**

I HAVE MADE several statements in the House in regard to the developments in Tibet. The last statement was made on April 3, in which I informed the House that the Dalai Lama had entered the territory of the Indian Union with a large entourage. I should like to bring this information up to date and to place such additional facts as we have before the House.

A few days ago, the Dalai Lama and his party reached Mussoorie, where the Government had made arrangements for their stay. I have had occasion to visit Mussoorie since then and have had a long talk with the Dalai Lama.

In the course of the last few days, reports have reached us that considerable numbers of Tibetans, numbering some thousands, have crossed into the Kameng Frontier Division of the North East Frontier Agency and some hundreds have also entered the territory of Bhutan. They sought asylum, and we agreed. Such of them as carried arms were disarmed. We do not know the exact number yet. Temporary arrangements are being made in a camp for their maintenance until they can be dispersed in accordance with their wishes and the necessities governing such cases. We could not leave these refugees to their own resources. Apart from the humanitarian considerations involved, there was also the law and order problem to be considered. We are grateful to the Government of Assam for their help and co-operation in this matter.

Soon after entering India, the Dalai Lama indicated his wish to make a statement. We were later informed that this statement would be released at Tezpur.

In view of certain irresponsible charges made, I should like

to make it clear that the Dalai Lama was entirely responsible for this statement as well as a subsequent, briefer statement that was made by him from Mussoorie. Our officers had nothing to do with the drafting or preparation of these statements.

I need not tell the House that the Dalai Lama entered India entirely of his own volition. At no time had we suggested that he should come to India. We had naturally given thought to the possibility of his seeking asylum in India and when such a request came, we readily granted it. His entry with a large party in a remote corner of our country created special problems of transport, organization and security. We deputed an officer to meet the Dalai Lama and his party at Bomdila and to escort them to Mussoorie. The particular officer was selected because he had served as Consul-General in Lhasa and, therefore, was to some extent known to the Dalai Lama and his officials. The selection of Mussoorie for the Dalai Lama's stay was not finalized till his own wishes were ascertained in the matter and he agreed to it. There was no desire on our part to put any undue restrictions on him, but in the special circumstances, certain arrangements had necessarily to be made to prevent any mishap. It should be remembered that the various events in Tibet, culminating in the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa and entry into India had created tremendous interest among the people of India and in the world press. After his arrival in Mussoorie, steps were taken to prevent the Dalai Lama from being harassed by crowds of people trying to see him as well as by newspapermen. Apart from this, no restrictions about movement were placed on him. He has been told that he and his party can move about Mussoorie according to their wishes. It should be remembered that the Dalai Lama has recently not only had a long, strenuous and dangerous journey, but has also had harrowing experiences which must affect the nerves of even a hardened person. He is only 24 years of age.

These are some bare facts, but behind these facts lie serious developments which may have far-reaching consequences. Tragedy has been and is being enacted in Tibet, passions have been let loose, charges made and language used which cannot but worsen the situation and our relations with

our northern neighbour. I am sure that the House will agree with me that in considering matters of such high import, we should exercise restraint and wisdom and use language which is moderate and precise. In these days of the cold war, there has been a tendency to use unrestrained language and often to make wild charges without any justification. We have fortunately kept out of the cold war and I hope that on this, as on any other occasion, we shall not use the language of the cold war. The matter is too serious to be dealt with in a trivial or excited way. I would, therefore, appeal to the press and the public to exercise restraint in language. I regret that occasionally there have been lapses on our side. In particular, I regret that grave discourtesy was shown some days ago to a picture of the head of the Chinese State, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. This was done by a small group of irresponsible people in Bombay. In the excitement of the moment, we cannot allow ourselves to be swept away into wrong courses.

It is not for me to make any similar appeal to the leaders, the press and the people of China. All I can say is that I have been greatly distressed at the tone of the comments and the charges made against India by responsible people in China. They have used the language of the cold war regardless of truth and propriety. This is peculiarly distressing in a great nation with thousands of years of culture behind it, noted for its restrained and polite behaviour. The charges made against India are so fantastic that I find it difficult to deal with them. There is the charge of our keeping the Dalai Lama under duress. The Chinese authorities should surely know how we function in this country and what our laws and Constitution are. Even if we were so inclined, we could not keep the Dalai Lama under some kind of detention against his will, and there can be no question of our wishing to do so. We can gain nothing by it except the burden of difficult problems. In any event, this matter can be easily cleared. It is open to the Dalai Lama at any time to go back to Tibet or wherever he wants to. As the Panchen Lama has made himself responsible specially for some strange statements, I have stated that we would welcome him to come to India and meet the Dalai Lama himself. Should he choose to do so, every courtesy will



be extended to him. I have further said that the Chinese Ambassador or any other emissary of the Chinese Government can come to India for this purpose and meet the Dalai Lama. There is no barrier against anyone coming peacefully to India, and whether we agree with him or not, we shall treat him with the courtesy due to a guest.

Another and an even stranger allegation has been made about "Indian expansionists" who, it is alleged, are inheritors of the British tradition of imperialism and expansion. It is perfectly true that British policy was one of expansion into Tibet and that they carried this out by force of arms early in this century. That was, in our opinion, an unjustified and cruel adventure which brought much harm to the Tibetans. As a result of that, the then British Government in India established certain extra-territorial rights in Tibet. When India became independent, we inherited some of these rights. Being entirely opposed to any such extra-territorial rights in another country, we did not wish to retain them. But in the early days after independence and partition, our hands were full, as this House well knows, and we had to face very difficult situations in our own country. We ignored, if I may say so, Tibet. Not being able to find a suitable person to act as our representative at Lhasa, we allowed for some time the existing British representative to continue at Lhasa. Later an Indian took his place. Soon after the Chinese armies entered Tibet, the question of these extra-territorial rights was raised and we readily agreed to give them up. We would have given them up anyhow, whatever developments might have taken place in Tibet. We withdrew our Army detachments from some places in Tibet and handed over Indian postal and telegraph installations and rest-houses. We laid down the Five Principles of Panchsheel and placed our relationship with the Tibet region on a new footing. What we were anxious about was to preserve the traditional connections between India and Tibet in regard to pilgrim traffic and trade. Our action in this matter and whatever we have done subsequently in regard to Tibet are proof enough of our policy and proof that India had no political or ulterior ambitions in Tibet. Indeed, even from the narrowest practical point of view, any other policy

would have been wrong and futile. Ever since then we have endeavoured not only to act up to the agreement we made, but to cultivate the friendship of the Chinese State and people.

It is, therefore, a matter of the deepest regret and surprise to us that charges should be made which are both unbecoming and entirely void of substance. We have conveyed this deep feeling of regret to the Chinese Government, more especially at the speeches delivered in the current session of the National People's Congress in Peking.

I stated some time ago that our broad policy was governed by three factors: (1) the preservation of the security and integrity of India; (2) our desire to maintain friendly relations with China; and (3) our deep sympathy for the people of Tibet. That policy we shall continue to follow, because we think it is a correct policy not only for the present but even more so for the future. It would be a tragedy if the two great countries of Asia, India and China, which have been peaceful neighbours for ages past, should develop feelings of hostility against each other. We for our part will follow this policy, but we hope that China also will do likewise and that nothing will be said or done which endangers the friendly relations of the two countries which are so important from the wider point of view of the peace of Asia and the world. The Five Principles have laid down, *inter alia*, mutual respect for each other. Such mutual respect is gravely impaired if unfounded charges are made and the language of the cold war used.

I have already made it clear previously that the charge that Kalimpong was a centre of the Tibetan rebellion is wholly unjustified. We have a large number of people of Tibetan stock living in India as Indian nationals. We have also some Tibetan *emigres* in India. All of these deeply respect the Dalai Lama. Some of them have been exceedingly unhappy at the developments in Tibet; some, no doubt, have anti-Chinese sentiments. We have made it clear to them that they will not be permitted to carry on any subversive activities from India and I should like to say that by and large they have acted in accordance with the directions of the Government of India. I cannot obviously say that someone has not done

something secretly, but to imagine or to say that a small group of persons sitting in Kalimpong organized a major upheaval in Tibet seems to me to make a large draft on imagination and to slur over obvious facts.

The Khampa revolt started in an area of China proper adjoining Tibet, more than three years ago. Is Kalimpong supposed to be responsible for that? This revolt gradually spread and no doubt created a powerful impression on the minds of large numbers of Tibetans who had kept away from the revolt. Fears and apprehensions about their future gripped their minds and the nationalist upsurge swayed their feelings. Their fears may have been unjustified, but surely these cannot be denied. Such feelings can only be dealt with adequately by gentler methods than warfare.

When Premier Chou En-lai came here two or three years ago, he was good enough to discuss Tibet with me at considerable length. We had a frank and full talk. He told me that while Tibet had long been a part of the Chinese State, they did not consider Tibet as a province of China. The people were different from the people of China proper, just as in other autonomous regions of the Chinese State the people were different, even though they formed part of that State. Therefore, they considered Tibet an autonomous region which would enjoy autonomy. He told me further that it was absurd for anyone to imagine that China was going to force communism on Tibet. Communism could not be enforced in this way on a very backward country and they had no wish to do so even though they would like reforms to come in progressively. Even these reforms they proposed to postpone for a considerable time.

About that time, the Dalai Lama was also here and I had long talks with him then. I told him of Premier Chou En-lai's friendly approach and of his assurance that he would respect the autonomy of Tibet. I suggested to him that he should accept these assurances in good faith and co-operate in maintaining that autonomy and bringing about certain reforms in Tibet. The Dalai Lama agreed that his country, though, according to him, advanced spiritually, was very backward socially and economically and reforms were needed.

It is not for us to say how far these friendly intentions and approaches materialized. The circumstances were undoubtedly difficult. On the one side, there was a dynamic, rapidly moving society; on the other, a static, unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reforms. The distance between the two was great and there appeared to be hardly any meeting point. Meanwhile change in some forms inevitably came to Tibet. Communications developed rapidly and the long isolation of Tibet was partly broken through. Though physical barriers were progressively removed, mental and emotional barriers increased. Apparently, the attempt to cross these mental and emotional barriers was either not made or did not succeed.

To say that a number of "upper strata reactionaries" in Tibet were solely responsible for this appears to be an extraordinary simplification of a complicated situation. Even according to the accounts received through Chinese sources, the revolt in Tibet was of considerable magnitude and the basis of it must have been a strong feeling of nationalism which affects not only upper class people but others also.

When news of these unhappy developments came to India, there was immediately a strong and widespread reaction. The Government did not bring about this reaction. Nor was this reaction essentially political. It was largely one of sympathy based on sentiment and humanitarian reasons, also on a certain feeling of kinship with the Tibetan people derived from long-established religious and cultural contacts. It was an instinctive reaction. Probably this reaction is shared in the Buddhist countries of Asia. When there are such strong feelings, which are essentially not political, they cannot be dealt with by political methods alone, much less by military methods. We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet; we have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China; but at the same time we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet, and we are greatly distressed at their helpless plight. We hope still that the authorities of China, in their wisdom, will not use their great strength against the Tibetans but will win them to friendly co-operation in accordance with the assurances they have themselves given

about the autonomy of the Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease.

I had a long talk with the Dalai Lama three days ago at Mussoorie. He told me of the difficulties he had to face, of the growing resentment of his people at the conditions existing there and how he sought to restrain them, of his feelings that the religion of the Buddha, which was more to him than life itself, was being endangered. He said that up to the last moment he did not wish to leave Lhasa. It was only on the afternoon of March 17 when, according to him, some shells were fired at his palace and fell in a pond near by, that the sudden decision was taken to leave Lhasa. Within a few hours the same day he and his party left Lhasa and took the perilous journey to the Indian frontier. The departure was so hurried that even an adequate supply of clothes, etc., could not be brought. When I met the Dalai Lama, no member of his entourage was present. Even the interpreter was our own. The Dalai Lama told me that the two statements which had been issued were entirely his own and there was no question of anybody coercing him to make them. Even though he is young, I could not easily imagine that he could be coerced into doing something he did not wish. All my sympathy goes out to this young man who at an early age has had to shoulder heavy burdens and to face tremendous responsibilities. During the last few weeks he has suffered great physical and mental strain. I advised him to rest for a while and not to take any hurried decisions. He felt very unhappy at the conditions in Tibet and was especially anxious that fighting should stop.

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## INCURSIONS IN LADAKH

THERE IS A LARGE area in eastern and north-eastern Ladakh which is practically uninhabited. It is mountainous, and even the valleys are at an altitude generally exceeding 13,000 feet. To some extent, shepherds use it during the summer months for grazing purposes. The Government of India have some police check-posts in this area but, because of the difficulties of terrain, most of these posts are at some distance from the international border.

Some reports reached us between October 1957 and February 1958 that a Chinese detachment had crossed the international frontier and visited Khurnak Fort, which is within Indian territory. The attention of the Chinese Government was drawn to this, and they were asked to desist from entering our territory. They were also informed of our intention to send a reconnaissance party in that area. It may be mentioned that there is no physical demarcation of the frontier in these mountainous passes, although our maps are quite clear on the subject.

Thereafter, at the end of July 1959, that is last month, a small Indian reconnaissance police party was sent to this area. When this party, consisting of an officer and five others, was proceeding towards Khurnak Fort, it was apprehended, some miles from the border inside our territory, by a stronger Chinese detachment. This happened on July 28. It appeared that the Chinese had established a camp at a place called Spanggur well within Indian territory.

On learning of this, we immediately lodged a protest with the Chinese Government at the violation of our frontier and asked for the release of our reconnaissance party. In their reply, the Chinese claimed that that part of the territory was theirs, but added that they would release the persons who had been apprehended. We sent a further Note to them expressing surprise at this claim and giving them the exact delineation of the traditional international frontier in this sector. We urged once again that the Chinese party well within

our territory should be withdrawn. No reply has yet been received to this Note. Our party was released on August 18.

**DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH:** May I know whether this place is about 15 miles within our territory and also whether this is the only place which is under occupation by the Chinese troops or they have occupied some other areas also?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** It is somewhat difficult to deal with this question as an adjunct to the main question. Of course, there have been some frontier troubles in two or three places widely separated; and it would be hardly correct to say that our area is under occupation of the Chinese, that is, under any kind of a fixed occupation. But their patrols, so far as we know, have come within our territory two or three miles or thereabouts.

**MR. N. G. GORAY:** May we know whether the Chinese had built a road across this territory joining Gartok with Yarkand and whether this road has been there for the last year or so? It passes through the Ladakhi territory.

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** Yes, that is in northern Ladakh, not exactly near this place but anyhow in the Ladakhi territory.

About a year or two ago, the Chinese had built a road from Gartok towards Yarkand, that is, Chinese Turkestan; and the report was that this road passed through a corner of our north-eastern Ladakhi territory.

The House will appreciate that these areas are extraordinarily remote, almost inaccessible, and even if they can be approached, it takes weeks and weeks to march and get there.

In that connection, a reconnaissance party was sent there. I cannot exactly say when, but I think it was a little over a year ago, some time last year. In fact, two parties were sent; one of them did not return and the other returned.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** What happened to it?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** We waited for two or three weeks, and when it did not return, we suspected that it might have been apprehended or captured by Chinese authorities on the border.

So we addressed the Chinese authorities; this was more than a year ago; we addressed them about a month after the incident; and they said some of our people had violated their

border and gone into their territory, and they had been apprehended, but because of their relations with us, etc., they were going to release them, and they did release them afterwards, that is, after they had been with them about a month or so.

That is concerning this road about which the hon. Member was enquiring. In all this area, there is no actual demarcation. So far as we are concerned, our maps are clear that this is within the territory of the Union of India. It may be that some of the parts are not clearly demarcated. But, obviously, if there is any dispute over any particular area, that is a matter to be discussed.

I may say that this area has nothing to do with the McMahon Line. The McMahon Line does not extend to the Ladakh area; it is on the other side. This was the boundary of the old Kashmir State with Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. Nobody had marked it. But after some kind of broad surveys, the then Government had laid down that border which we have been accepting and acknowledging.

MR. N. G. GORAY: Does it mean that in parts of our country which are inaccessible, any nation can come and build roads and camps? We just send our parties, they apprehend the parties and, because of our good relations, they release them. Is that all? The road remains there, the occupation remains there and we do not do anything about it.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not know if the hon. Member expects me to reply to that. There are two or three types of cases here. These are border and frontier questions. In regard to some part of the border, there can be no doubt from any side that it is our border. If anybody violates it, then it is a challenge to us. There are other parts regarding which it is rather difficult to say where the immediate border is, although broadly it may be known. But it is very difficult even in a map to indicate it; if a big line is drawn, that line itself covers three or four miles, one might say, in a major map. Then there are parts still where there has been no demarcation in the past. Nobody was in that area. Therefore, it is a matter now for consideration of the data, etc., by the two parties concerned and a decision will be taken in a way that is normal



when there is some kind of a frontier dispute.

In this particular matter, we have been carrying on correspondence, and suggesting that it should be considered by the two Governments.

MR. A. B. VAJPAYEE: The hon. Prime Minister just now said that if anyone occupies our territory, it is a challenge. May I know what positive steps are being taken, or have been taken, to enforce security measures on this border area?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There are thousands of miles of border. The hon. Member should be a little more specific in his question. If he is referring to this particular corner, the Aksai Chin area, that is an area about some parts of which, if I may say so, it is not quite clear what the position is. In other places, we are quite clear and certain. The border is 2,500 miles long.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR: I would like to know if these troubles on the border are over the same areas of our territory which the Chinese had indicated as their territory in their maps.

THE PRIME MINISTER: The question that I answered related to one area. There are other areas too where we have had, and are in fact having, some trouble now. I do not want to mix it up with this. This is an area with a frontier of more than 2,000 miles.

THE SPEAKER: I thought the hon. lady Member wanted to know if any portion of Ladakh was included in the map prepared by the Chinese Government and if this was beyond that line even with respect to Ladakh. That was what I thought when I allowed the supplementary.

THE PRIME MINISTER: The Chinese Government's maps are on such a small scale and in such broad splashes that some parts of Ladakh appear to be included in them. But they are not accurate enough. What we are discussing, and the question which I have answered, relates to about two or three miles. Two or three miles are not visible in these maps. But it is a fact that part of Ladakh is broadly covered by the wide sweep of their maps.

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ACCORDING TO AN announcement made in China, the Yehcheng-Gartok Road, which is also called the Sinkiang-Tibet Highway, was completed in September 1957. Our attention was drawn to a very small-scale map, about  $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$  inches, published in a Chinese newspaper, indicating the rough alignment of the road. It was not possible to find out from this small map whether this road crossed Indian territory although it looked as if it did so. It was decided, therefore, to send reconnaissance parties in the following summer to find out the alignment of this road. Two reconnaissance parties were accordingly sent last year. One of these parties was taken into custody by a superior Chinese detachment. The other returned and gave us some rough indication of this newly constructed road in the Aksai Chin area. According to their report, this road enters Indian territory in the south near Sarigh Jilganang lake and runs north-west leaving Indian territory near Hajilangar in the north-west corner of Ladakh.

Representations were made to the Chinese Government in a Note presented to the Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi on October 18, 1958, drawing their attention to the construction of the road through Indian territory and the arrest of fifteen members of the Indian reconnaissance party within the Indian border. The Chinese Government in their reply presented on November 1, 1958 notified the release of the party and claimed that the road ran through Chinese territory. A Note expressing our surprise at the Chinese contention was presented to the Chinese authorities on November 8, 1958. Reminders have been given subsequently. No further answers have been received.

The Aksai Chin area has a general elevation of over 17,000 feet. The entire Ladakh area including Aksai Chin became a part of the Jammu and Kashmir State as a result of a treaty signed in 1842 on behalf of Maharaja Gulab Singh on the one side, and the Lama Gurusahib of Lhasa—this is the name written in the agreement which I am quoting—and the representative of the Emperor of China on the other. Ever since then this area has been a part of the Jammu and Kashmir

State. Various attempts at demarcating the boundary between the Jammu and Kashmir State and Tibet were made subsequently by British officers. The Chinese Government were asked to send their representatives to co-operate in this work. They did not take part. The Chinese Commissioner, however, stated on January 13, 1847, as follows :

“I beg to observe that the borders of these territories have been sufficiently and distinctly fixed so that it would be best to adhere to this ancient arrangement, and it will prove far more convenient to abstain from any additional measure for fixing them.”

The British officers were also of the same opinion. Although no actual demarcation was made on the ground, maps were prepared on the basis of old usage and convention. These maps have been used in India for the last hundred years or so. They include the Aksai Chin region as part of Ladakh. Since the boundary of the Aksai Chin region with China-Tibet has not been marked on the ground, once or twice questions have been raised about the exact alignment of this boundary. Old Chinese maps have shown a different alignment.

MR. D. P. SINGH: May I know, Sir, why Parliament was not taken into confidence earlier with regard to this matter?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There was not much to take into confidence about, Sir... Without our knowledge they (the Chinese) have made a road in that extreme corner and we have been dealing with it through correspondence. No particular occasion arose to bring the matter before the House, because we thought that we might make progress by correspondence and when the time was ripe for it we would inform Parliament.

MR. D. P. SINGH: In view of the fact that the Chinese claim that this admittedly Indian territory is within their frontier and that our protest was lodged as far back as July or August 1958, and in view of the fact that the Chinese claim is unjustified and no reply has been sent to the Indian Government, do not the Government contemplate ousting the Chinese from this Indian territory by force? Will not the Government of India at least consider the advisability of

bombing the road built in our territory out of existence ?

THE PRIME MINISTER: No, Sir. The Government will not consider that course, because that is not the way the Government would like to function in such matters. In matters like this, decisions can only be made by conferences, by agreement. Countries do not, and should not, go to war without proceeding in these other ways.

MR. D. P. SINGH: What are we to do when the Chinese Government does not even answer our protest sent as far back as August or so?

THE CHAIRMAN: The last was on November 8, 1958.

THE PRIME MINISTER: After that we sent them reminders to which they did not send an answer. That is true.

MR. V. K. DHAGE: In spite of reminders?

THE PRIME MINISTER: In spite of reminders. We can only send further reminders.

MR. T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: Pending their reply, Sir, may I know whether the building of this road has been stopped?

THE CHAIRMAN: The road has been built, I think.

THE PRIME MINISTER: The road was built. Roads in these areas, Sir, are of a peculiar type. The only thing you have to do to build a road is to even the ground a little and remove the stones and shrubs. Reports about the road reached us from a small Chinese map two years ago.

MR. D. P. SINGH: May I know whether the Government have received any further reports to say that the Chinese have extended their occupation and control over larger areas than when we got information first about this road?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There was a report, this month, about an area in eastern Ladakh's border with Tibet, a considerable distance away from this area, where a Chinese detachment was seen by a small Indian reconnaissance patrol. Ultimately, I think, some eight or ten persons were apprehended by the Chinese and later released. The same claim arises here; they say it is their territory and we say it is ours. This matter arose this month, and we are carrying on correspondence about that territory. These places are not demarcated on the land. And we are told that they have

established a small check-post a little within our side of the international border there, just on the eastern Ladakh border of Tibet. This is near a place called Chushul near which we have one of our own check-posts.

MR. JASWANT SINGH : The Prime Minister stated a little while ago that this portion of Ladakh is absolutely desolate and unfertile and that not even a blade of grass grows there. Even then, China is attaching importance to the area and is building a road there. I would like to know, when China is attaching so much of importance to this desolate bit of land, why, when the territory is ours or is under dispute even, do we not attach any importance to it?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I talked only about the Yehcheng area, not about the whole of Ladakh, although the whole of Ladakh, broadly speaking, is 11,000 to 17,000 and 20,000 feet high. Presumably the Chinese attach importance to this area because of the fact that the route connects part of Chinese Turkestan with Gartok-Yehcheng. This is an important connection.

MR. RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: May I know whether the Government has any check-posts on that Ladakh border?

THE PRIME MINISTER: We have some check-posts. For instance, I have just mentioned a check-post called Chushul. It is not only a check-post but is an improvised airfield where some four years ago I happened to go also.

### INCURSIONS IN NEFA

IN THE COURSE of the last two or three years, there have been cases—not very frequent—of some kind of petty intrusion on our border areas by some platoon or other of the Chinese troops. This was nothing extraordinary, because there is no demarcation at all and parties may sometimes cross over. We drew the attention of the Chinese Government in 1957-58 to this and they withdrew. There the matter ended.

Now, in June this year, the Chinese Government protested to us saying that Indian troops had shelled and intruded into Chinese territory by occupying a place on the border of Migyitun and some other place along the frontier—this is in Tibet-NEFA. They alleged that our troops entered into some kind of collusion with the Tibetan rebel forces—"bandits" as they call them—carrying on illegal activities against the People's Government of China. We replied that there was no truth in the allegation, and we expressed surprise that the Chinese Government should give credence to these allegations. Ultimately nothing happened there. We stayed where we were.

There are two matters I should particularly like to mention. The first is that on August 7 an armed Chinese patrol, approximately 200 strong, violated our border at Khinzemane, north of Chutangmu in the Kameng Frontier Division. When requested to withdraw, they pushed back—actually, physically pushed back—our greatly outnumbered patrol to a bridge at Drokung Samba. Our people consisted of ten or a dozen policemen and they were about 200. There was no firing. The Chinese detachment withdrew later and our forces again re-established themselves. All this was over a question of about two miles. According to us, there is an international border. The Chinese patrol arrived again and demanded the immediate withdrawal of our picket and the lowering of our flag. This request was refused. Then there was some attempt by the Chinese forces to outflank our people, but, so far as we know, our people remained there and nothing further happened.

The present incident I am talking about is a very recent one and is, in fact, a continuing one. On August 25, that is three days ago, a strong Chinese detachment crossed into our territory in the Subansiri Frontier Division at a place south of Migyitun and opened fire. Hon. Members will remember that I just mentioned Migyitun in connection with the Chinese allegation that we had violated their territory and were in collusion with some Tibetan rebels. That protest had been made in June last, and there the matter had ended. Now, not far from that area, this Chinese detachment came and

met, some distance away, our forward picket of about a dozen persons. It is said that they fired at our picket. They were much larger in numbers, two hundred or three hundred or even more. They surrounded our forward picket which consisted of 12 men—one N.C.O. and eleven riflemen of the Assam Rifles. They apparently apprehended this lot. Eight of these eleven riflemen managed to escape. They came back to our outpost. The outpost is at a place called Longju. Longju is three or four miles from the frontier between Tibet and India as we conceive it. Longju is five days' march from another post of ours in the interior, a bigger post called Limeking. Limeking is about twelve days' march from the next place behind it. So, in a way, Longju is about three weeks' march from a road-head. I merely mention this to give the House some idea of the communications involved and the distance and time taken. As I said, eight persons from our forward picket who had been captured apparently escaped and came back the next day, August 26. The Chinese came again and opened fire and practically encircled the picket and the post. Although there was firing for a considerable time, we have no account of any casualties. Our people apparently fired back too. But, under the overwhelming pressure, they withdrew from Longju. This happened only the day before yesterday evening and we have not, therefore, been able to get any exact particulars of what happened.

The moment this information came, we immediately protested to the Chinese Government about it and took certain other steps which we thought necessary and feasible to strengthen our various posts in that area, Limeking and others. We have, in fact, placed the entire border area of NEFA directly under our military authorities.

All this has taken a little time. In this particular place, Longju. I imagine that our small picket—it was probably altogether some 38 strong—may have run short of ammunition because there was no supply coming in. We tried to send supplies by air. They were dropped but missed. It is a mountainous area. It is slightly risky to send paratroopers there. We did not think it was desirable or worthwhile to do so at that place. Anyhow, we took such steps as were feasible.

While sitting here, I have heard from our Ambassador in Peking. When he handed over our Note to the Chinese authorities, the reply was that their information was different. The Director said that the information that the Chinese Government had received was contained in the Note handed over to one of our men there. Regarding the incident at Migyitun, according to their report, it was the Indians who fired first; the Chinese frontier guards had opened fire only in self-defence. They had received no information yet of the clash at Longju on August 26. This is the Chinese answer. The Director said that the situation in this sector of the border was tense because Indian troops were continuously pushing forward. We see repeated here the same kind of language as between say, India and Pakistan: we make a statement and an exactly opposite, contrary statement is made by the other side.

I confess that in these matters I give credence to our own reports and I believe it is true because I would rather believe my own men who are there and who are trained men, not used to exaggeration, and also because the circumstantial evidence supports their account. In fact, our Ambassador pointed this out to the Chinese people. I need not say that, while I do not wish to take an alarmist view of the situation—in themselves these are minor incidents—it is a little difficult to understand what lies behind these minor incidents. In any event, we have to be vigilant and protect our borders as best we can.

MR. N. G. GORAY: It is not a question of taking any alarmist view. The real issue is what is happening in Ladakh, Bhutan, Sikkim and in NEFA. It is not a question only of the effect it produces on us.

MR. R. K. KHADILKAR: Are all these incidents an indication that they are a Chinese design to determine the border as is shown in their map by saying that the areas have come under their occupation?

MR. HEM BARUA: May I know whether this incursion into NEFA which has been repeated in quick succession is due to the cartographic inaccuracy in the maps about which we have complained to the Chinese Government and the



Chinese Government have told us that this is the handiwork of the Chiang Kai-shek regime?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** We have to face here a particular situation. There is no alternative for us but to defend our country's borders and integrity. Having said that, at the same time we must not, as often happens in such cases, become alarmist and panicky and thereby take wrong action.

We have taken the line that minor border incidents and border differences should be settled by negotiations. We must distinguish between this and that broad approach of the Chinese maps which have brush-coloured hundreds of miles of Indian territory. That is totally and manifestly unacceptable and we have made it clear. We stick to the McMahon Line. But it is quite another thing that in this long line there may be minor arguments about a mile here or a mile there. These arguments had been there before the Chinese came into Tibet. We admit that these are differences which exist and which should be settled. We think we are right, but let us sit round a conference table and settle them. But when it comes to huge chunks of territory, it is not a matter for discussion.

The one or two instances that I have stated are, again, according to us clearly intrusion into our territory. Suppose there is some question of a Tibetan or Chinese case about a mile here or there; well, we are prepared to discuss it. But from such information as we have received and I have placed before the House, it is not a normal, peaceful way of approaching the question for their forces to come, envelop our check-posts and capture them after firing. This matter becomes much more serious than some incidental or accidental border affray.

Mr. Khadilkar asked about what lies behind all this. I cannot say; it is not fair for me to guess. But so far as we are concerned, we shall naturally be prepared for any eventuality and we shall keep vigilant without fuss or shouting.

## INDIA'S BORDERS WITH CHINA

TWO DAYS AGO, something happened which has added to the gravity of the situation and highlighted certain aspects which were perhaps under a shadow then. As Foreign Minister, it is my business to read carefully the new reply from Premier Chou En-lai and to understand what exactly it might mean. As we have now taken Parliament and, indeed, the public into our confidence by publishing this White Paper, whenever our reply goes, that also will be published. As a matter of fact, only yesterday morning we sent a message to the Chinese Government in continuation of this correspondence and a copy of it has been placed on the table of the House today. It was soon after we had sent this message that we began getting bits of Premier Chou En-lai's reply. I shall venture only to deal with certain aspects of it referred to by hon. Members. I often wonder if we, that is the Government of India and the Government of China, speak quite the same language, and if, using the same words or similar words, we mean the same thing. Secondly, and I know this from experience, it is a terrific problem to translate Chinese into any other language. I am quite sure that Marx must be different in Chinese from the original German or the translations in English and other languages.

My friend Mr. Sapru said something about the failure of the West to recognize the Chinese Revolution. I would venture to say that there appears to me to be a lack of understanding or recognition in China of the revolution in India. This perhaps is the reason for some of their misunderstandings and for the way they approach certain matters connected with India. They forget that India is not a country which can be ignored even though she may speak in a gentler language.

Dr. Kunzru said that our foreign policy was in the melting pot. He referred to our non-alignment and to Panchsheel as a slogan and an opiate. I claim that these principles are right, and I should like any hon. Member here to tell me wherein they are not right. I do not understand what the situation

as it has developed has got to do with putting our foreign policy in the melting pot. So far as I am concerned and so far as our Government is concerned, our foreign policy is as firm as a rock and it will remain so. The present Government will hold to non-alignment because it is a matter of principle, not of opportunism or the convenience of the day. That surely does not mean that we should not be vigilant or that we should not protect India's interests or India's border. That would be a foolish inference to draw from it.

Right from the first few months of independence, I repeatedly stated in Parliament that the McMahon Line, by which I simply mean the defined frontier, was our frontier. When I say something in Parliament, it is meant for the outside world and it was meant, if I may say so, for the Government of China. We said this to the Chinese Government in communication too, orally and otherwise. Their answer was vague. Seven or eight years ago I saw no reason to discuss the question of the frontier with the Chinese Government, because, foolishly if you like, I thought that there was nothing to discuss.

All these frontier matters might be divided into three parts. One is what is called the McMahon Line from the Burmese border to the Bhutan border. Then comes Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Lahaul, Spiti, and then you go on to Ladakh.

When we discovered in 1958, more than a year ago, that a road had been built across Yehcheng in the north-east corner of Ladakh, we were worried. We did not know where it was. Hon. Members asked why we did not know before. It is a relevant question, but the fact is that it is an uninhabitable area, 17,000 feet high. It had not been under any kind of administration. Nobody has been present there. It is a territory where not even a blade of grass grows. It adjoins Sinkiang. We sent a small party, practically of explorers, numbering eight to ten, to find out the facts. One of the groups of this party was apprehended by the Chinese Government and there was correspondence on this. The men belonging to that group were released later. Now, it was possibly an error or a mistake on my part not to have brought the facts before the House. Our difficulty then was that we were corresponding with the

Chinese Government and we were waiting for that little party to come here and tell us as to what happened to them. It took two or three months for them to come. We thought at that time that it might be easier for us to deal with the Chinese Government without too much publicity for this incident. We might have been wrong, but it was not a crisis.

Dr. Ahmad said that there are no objective reasons for war. Of course, there are no objective reasons, no practical reasons, no sensible reasons or no reason whatsoever of any kind. We may get excited about the sacredness of the Indian soil and the Chinese people may get excited about something they hold sacred, if they hold anything sacred. But nothing can be a more amazing folly than for two great countries like India and China to get into a major conflict and war for the possession of a few mountain peaks, however beautiful the mountain peaks might be, or some area which is more or less uninhabited. But it is not a question of a mile or two. It is something more precious than a hundred or a thousand miles. People's passions have been brought to a high level not because of a patch of territory but because they feel that we have not received a fair treatment in this matter and have been treated rather casually by the Chinese Government and an attempt is made, if I may use the word, to bully us.

The only time firing has taken place was in Longju a few days ago. In his most recent letter, Mr. Chou En-lai gives a list of places where India has committed aggression in the air and on land. There is no sea; otherwise, we would have been accused of committing aggression on sea also. I might inform the House that we have received a protest about one of our ships having gone into the territorial waters of China. That ship, I think, was going from Hong Kong to somewhere. So, the sea is not left out. Now, what is aggression and what is not aggression depends, of course, on where you draw the line of demarcation. As long as you do not agree on a line you can go on saying that we have committed aggression. But Mr. Chou En-lai says in his letter that although they totally deny and repudiate the so-called McMahon Line, they have nevertheless not crossed the Line, and will not cross it till this matter is settled by agreement. I will not go into a long argument.

but take this place where firing actually took place. There has been a post belonging to the Indian Government at Longju. It so happened that towards the second half of July we got news that the officer in charge of the check-post at Longju was seriously ill. He was believed to have appendicitis and nobody was on hand to treat him. We sent a message to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on July 23, that is, a month before this fighting took place. This was the message:

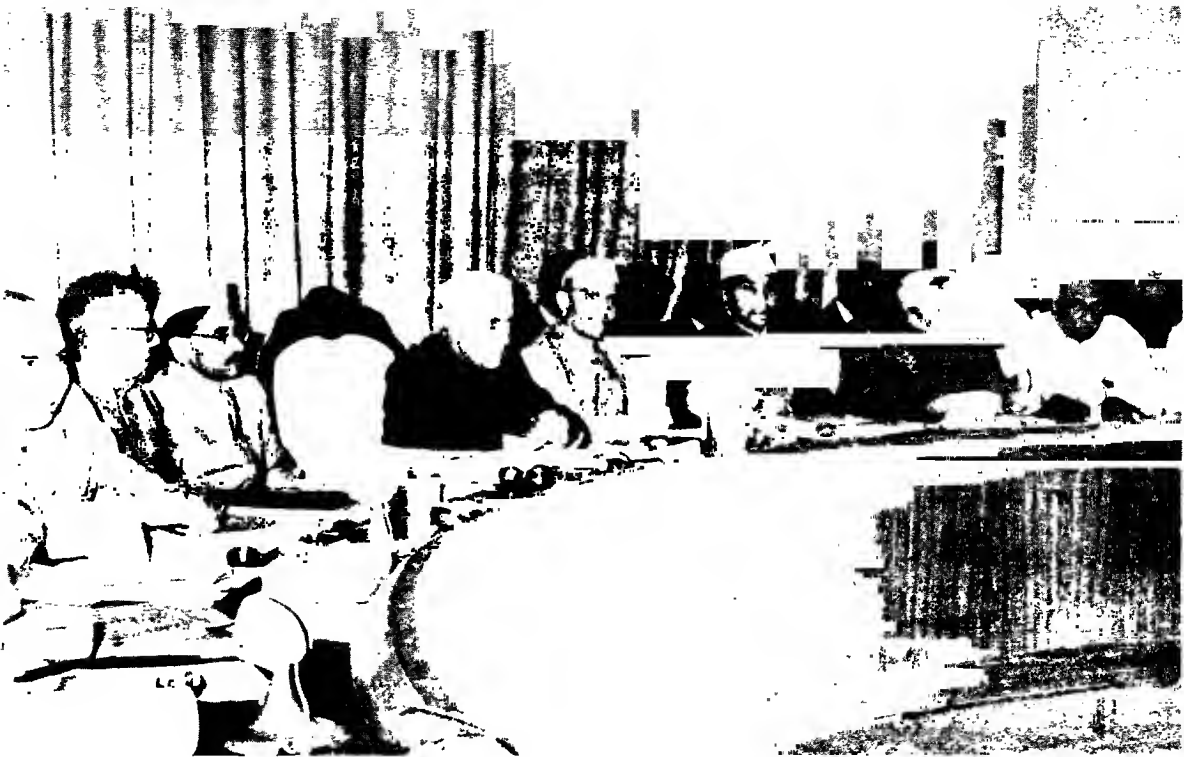
"The officer in charge of the Indian check-post at Longju near the international border in the Subansiri Frontier Division of NEFA is seriously ill. It is essential to send immediate medical relief to save his life. The location of the post is. . . ."

Then the exact longitude, latitude, etc., were given.

"The Government of India propose to paradrop a doctor at the post. Depending on weather, the paradropping operation may take place on the 24th afternoon or on one of the subsequent days. The aircraft has been instructed to take all care not to cross into Chinese territory but the Chinese Government are being informed, should there be any error of judgment. The Government of India will appreciate if immediate warning is issued to the neighbouring Chinese posts of this operation."

This was a normal message sent to a friendly Government and the mere normality of it shows that we had no doubt about our post. We gave them the longitude and latitude and we said we were sending a doctor; and when they say that this is aggression on our part at Longju, I submit that that argument does not convince.

I should like to go back to my talks with Premier Chou En-lai. It is no pleasure for me to contradict Premier Chou. My memory may be wrong; his memory may be wrong. It so happens that I did not trust my memory but made a record of the talks in an official note within 24 hours of our talk. Premier Chou said although they did not recognize this McMahon Line— it was of British imperialism and all that— nevertheless, since we were friendly countries, they had agreed to recognize the McMahon Line in so far as the Burmese frontier was concerned and the China-India frontier was con-



*Addressing the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, New Delhi, January 1963*

*Delivering the Convocation Address to the University of Delhi, December 1958*





*At the Exhibition of Excellence in Printing  
and Designing of Books and Publications,  
New Delhi, December 1958*



*Speaking at the Seminar and Exhibition of  
Architecture, New Delhi, March 1959*



*Inaugurating the Asian History Congress, New Delhi, December 1961*

*Delivering the inaugural address at the centenary celebration of the Archaeological Survey of India and the International Conference of Asian Archaeology, New Delhi, December 1961*





cerned. That would take care of the whole of the McMahon Line. Premier Chou added that he did not think that it was a valid line, and that the British had gone on extending it; nevertheless, they were recognizing it because of long usage and because we were friendly countries. When I heard it I wanted to be quite sure that I had not misunderstood him. Therefore, I went back to the subject three times and made him repeat it. And because the matter was of some importance to me, I put it down in writing when I came away. It is a matter of sorrow to me that this is now ignored, if not practically denied, and another line is adopted. It may be that things have happened in China compelling a change in policy. This change-over is not sudden. Those who read the White Paper will see that the answer about the McMahon Line was not quite so strong and positive as in Premier Chou's letter of yesterday. Gradually, step by step, the policy of China in regard to this matter has become more rigid. Why, I cannot say.

This is a matter of concern to us, not only because of its consequences but because such developments produce a lack of confidence in each other's words and assurances. That is a more important thing, as some hon. Members said, than a few yards of territory.

Take these maps where large areas of India are marked as if they were China. They say that the maps are not precise and accurate, and can be changed if necessary, except that they do not recognize the McMahon Line. Nobody knows exactly what they may have in mind as to where the Line is. This is an extraordinary position for a great State to take up. Even if we subscribed to that, it would mean leaving the matter vague, with the possibility of trouble always there. So far as we are concerned, administratively we have been there. We function and we have functioned for years there. To be told that this is aggression is an extraordinary thing. If there are two sets of opinions about this, the right thing to do for the two countries was and is to sit down and talk about them and come to a settlement. I have made our position clear on the border issue by statements in Parliament and later by letters, for ten years now. There is no doubt that the Chinese

Government knew about it. They remained silent. They did not accept my position, except, as I said, that we had a talk when Premier Chou came here three years ago, when he accepted the McMahon Line.

Take the Sino-India Treaty about Tibet five years ago. We were dealing with the various extra-territorial rights we had in Tibet—some soldiering we had, post office, telegraph office, roads, pilgrim routes, trade, commerce and everything. Normally, if there was a problem of a bit of Tibet being in India or *vice versa*, one would think that these matters should have come up for discussion. They did not. I saw no reason why I should raise them, because I had nothing to say about them. I accepted the boundary as it was. The whole context of those discussions was that we were dealing with all the remaining problems as between Tibet and India in that treaty with China. And to have it at the back of your mind that you are going to change the whole frontier between Tibet and India and later bring it up does not seem to be quite straight or fair play.

Now, a very favourite word with the Chinese authorities is "imperialism". It seems to me that sometimes this word is used to cover every sin and everything as if that was an explanation of every argument. The Chinese State today is a great, colossal State. Was this Chinese State born as such from the head of Brahma? How did it grow so big and great? Surely, in past ages by the ability of its people and the conquest of its warriors; in other words by Chinese imperialism. I am not talking of the present, more enlightened days of China, but of the old days. The Chinese State grew in that way, and came into Tibet.

In the final analysis, the Chinese have valued India's friendship only to a very small extent. But I repeat that we shall continue to work for their friendship. To imagine that India can push China about is silly. To imagine that China can push India about is equally silly. We must accept things as they are. In the message we sent to the Chinese Government yesterday you will find that we have suggested to them that we must accept the *status quo* and discuss these individual points. It is one thing to accept or to adhere to the McMahon

Line but quite another to establish the exact alignment here and there. Of course, it is fantastic to talk about war, etc. Nevertheless, the matter is serious enough. It is serious because I just do not know how the Chinese mind works. I have been surprised at the recent developments. I have great admiration for the Chinese mind, logical and reasonable and relatively calm. But sometimes I wonder if all these old qualities have not perhaps been partly overwhelmed.

Very probably the Tibetan developments have angered and soured the mind of the Government of China. Perhaps they have reacted strongly to what we have done, for example to the asylum we have given to the Dalai Lama. We have tried to steer a middle way. We respect the Dalai Lama. That does not mean we agree with him in everything. In some ways he is acting wrongly today. We have strongly told him that he is acting wrongly and no good can come of it if he goes to the United Nations on Tibet. We have contradicted some statements that he recently made which were very unwise and incorrect. The other day, in a speech, he talked of the McMahon Line and the status of Tibet being at the same level, which was quite incorrect. I must say that in a large measure he has accepted our advice in regard to not indulging in political controversy. We do not want to come in his way. We want to give him freedom of action within limitations. But, no doubt, all this has affected and is affecting the Chinese mind. Perhaps it is due to this that they are taking up this rigid attitude. But we have to hold to our position.

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PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI's last letter, although in some parts worded in relatively soft language, raises issues which are very serious and which have been raised in that form officially almost for the first time.

I have also been reading reports of Premier Chou En-lai's speech in a congress which is being held in Peking. This speech is more or less on the lines of the letter. As is to be expected,

some others also made speeches in the congress, everyone taking the line of Premier Chou En-lai, namely:

“expressing their great surprise to find Mr. Nehru defending British imperialism...Prime Minister Nehru and the Indian Government treat the aggressive plot of British imperialism against China in the last century as an accomplished fact. Does this accord with the Five Principles advocated by Mr. Nehru?”

Obviously a question like this cannot be solved by resolutions in Delhi and in Peking or by hurling strong language at each other. Other ways have to be found—either peaceful or warlike. Every sensible person here and elsewhere wants to avoid war. The most powerful nations in the world are trying their utmost today to find a way outside war, and for us to think and talk of war seems ridiculous.

Now, what is happening in China today? I do not wish to use strong words, but it is the pride and arrogance of might that is showing in their language, in their behaviour towards us and in many things that they have done.

A mile on this side of the McMahon Line or a mile on that side may be a small matter, but it is not a small matter to show in their maps a large tract of Indian territory and to call it Chinese territory.

When I talked about mediation and conciliation—and I even used the word arbitration—I meant that minor alignments could always be talked about in a peaceful way. But the claim laid down in the Chinese maps, for the first time, is something bigger. This claim is taking definite shape in this last letter of Premier Chou En-lai and the speeches delivered at their congress. At first, whenever the maps were referred to, they said they were old maps and they would revise them. It was a totally inadequate answer, but it was some kind of an answer—postponement of an answer, if you like. But what is now held out is something definite. We do not know exactly where their line is, but they hold by it. Even a petty spot, even a yard of territory, is important if coercively and aggressively taken from us. It is not the yard of territory that counts but the coercion. It makes no difference to China or India whether a few yards of territory in the mountains

are on this side or on that side. But it makes a great deal of difference if that is done in an insulting, aggressive, offensive, violent manner, by us or by them.

I have been accused, with some justification, of having kept matters from Parliament. It is only one thing that I have kept, that is, the matter of the road in the Aksai Chin area with which we were dealing in last November and December. Hon. Members ask me if our Air Force did not take pictures of the place. I do not think there is a full realization of what this area is and where it is. The mere act of taking pictures would have endangered the aeroplanes, endangered them not only because of the physical features of the area but because of the risk of the other party shooting them down. The Aksai Chin area is in our maps, undoubtedly. But it is a matter for argument as to what part of it belongs to us and what part of it belongs to somebody else. I have frankly to tell the House that the matter has been challenged for a hundred years. There has never been any delimitation there.

The McMahon Line, however, is very different. By and large, apart from minor variations, it is a fixed line. It broadly follows the watershed. That is the test. We stick to it, subject to minor variations. A mile here or a mile there does not matter, provided it is peacefully arranged. But there can be no mediation, conciliation or arbitration about the demands of the Chinese for large chunks of territory. It is fantastic and absurd for them to base their demand on what happened in past centuries. If this argument is applied, I wonder how much of the great Chinese State would survive this argument. This extraordinary argument takes us back to past ages of history, upsetting everything. It really is the argument of a strong and aggressive power. Nobody else would use it. I have a feeling that just as there is a certain paranoia in individuals, sometimes there is a paranoia in nations.

The basic facts are these. First: that this Chinese claim which was vaguely set down in maps, etc., is becoming more definitely stated now. That is a claim which it is quite impossible for India or almost any Indian ever to admit, whatever the consequences. There is no question of mediation, conciliation or arbitration about it. As an hon. Member

observed, it involves a fundamental change in the whole geography of our country, the Himalayas being handed over as a gift to them. This is a claim which, whether India exists or does not exist, cannot be agreed to. There the matter ends.

Then there is the border of U.P., Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab. When we had the treaty about Tibet in 1954, a number of passes were mentioned, which were meant for pilgrims, traders and others to go over. In a sense, these passes themselves laid down the frontier, and the claim now made to the Shipki La Pass, etc., is undoubtedly a breach of that agreement of 1954.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh said that nobody knew what places and areas of India the Chinese might have occupied. I beg to inform him that everybody knows it, or ought to know it. So far as I know, there are no Chinese troops on this side of the McMahon Line anywhere except a small detachment three or four miles from Longju. The impression seems to have grown that there are masses and masses of Chinese armies perched on the frontier, or pouring into the frontier. That is not a correct impression. Such a thing is not easy to do, and if it is done, it will be met.

Let us realize that the real danger at the present moment is not of armies pouring in; the real danger is the words that are being said in Peking. May I add that, to complete the picture, we should also remember the treatment given to our Missions in Tibet? The treatment by the local authorities has been consistently discourteous. We write, we complain; answers come, long explanations; but it is deliberately being made more inconvenient and difficult for our people to work there.

An hon. Member, I think Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, referred to Sikkim and Bhutan. I am glad he did, because I had wanted to refer to the matter. In Premier Chou En-lai's last letter, he says:

"In Your Excellency's letter, you also referred to the boundary between China and Sikkim. Like the boundary between China and Bhutan, this question does not fall within the scope of our present discussion."

I beg to differ from Premier Chou En-lai. It does very much

fall within the scope of our present or future discussion. If he thinks that he can deal with it as something apart from India, we are not agreeable to that. We have publicly, and rightly, undertaken certain responsibilities for the defence of Sikkim and Bhutan, if they are attacked. It is very necessary for us to understand that if something happens on their borders, then it is the same thing as an interference with the border of India.

In Premier Chou's letter, he has referred to a telegram which we received from Tibet—from Lhasa—in 1947. The point which Premier Chou has made is that even in 1947, that is, soon after we became independent, Tibet claimed territory from us. It is true that we received a telegram from the Tibetan Bureau in Lhasa, which was forwarded to us by our Mission in Lhasa, claiming the return of Tibetan territory on the boundary of India and Tibet. A reply was sent by us demanding the assurance that it was the intention of the Tibetan Government to continue relations on the existing basis until new agreements were reached on matters that either party might wish to take up.

The House should remember that even in British times certain small areas were points of dispute between the then Government of India and the Tibetan Government. There were some later disputes too. It may be that this telegram refers to those areas in dispute.

If I have erred in the past by delaying the placing of papers before the House, I shall not err again. This very reply from Premier Chou has come six months after my letter of March. But the situation is such that we have to keep the country and especially Parliament in full touch with the developments. This apparent change in the attitude of the Chinese Government has come out quite clearly with a demand which it is absolutely and wholly impossible for us to look at. But if you will put that aside, the House will notice that they themselves say that they are prepared for the *status quo* to continue.

I would beg of you not to think of this matter in terms of communism and anti-communism. The House must have seen the statement issued more or less on behalf of the Soviet

Government. The House knows the very close relations that the Soviet Government has with the Chinese Government. The issue of that statement itself shows that the Soviet Government is taking a calm and more or less objective, dispassionate view of the situation, considering everything. We welcome it. It is not for us to divert this major issue between China and India into wrong channels. We must maintain our dignity, and at the same time deal with the situation as firmly as we can. Our Defence Forces are fully seized of the matter and they are not people who get excited quickly. They are brave and experienced people and if they have to deal with a difficult job, they will deal with it in a calm, quiet but efficient way.

### MEETING OF THE PRIME MINISTERS

**L**AST NIGHT, soon after the issue of the joint communique, Premier Chou En-lai held a press conference. It was a very prolonged press conference which, I believe, lasted for about two hours and a half. There is some reference to it in this morning's papers, but they have been unable to give a full report, which possibly may appear tomorrow. I myself have not seen the full report of that, but such things as I have seen indicate that he had naturally stated and given expression to his point of view, which is certainly not that of the Government of India.

**MR. MAHANTY:** What are our reactions to these six points?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** We do not agree to them. The points were—I am reading from the script which he gave to the press:

“1. There exists a dispute on the boundary between the two parties.”

Of course, there exist disputes.



- “2. There exists between the two countries a line of actual control up to which each side exercises administrative jurisdiction.”

MR. MAHANTY: I may be pardoned for interrupting, but does the Prime Minister draw a line of distinction between the area under administrative control and the geographical area?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There is no question of administrative control. What it says is, not very happily, not correctly, that there is a line of actual control, broadly meaning military control.

MR. HEM BARUA: That would mean that Longju and part of Ladakh would be in their hands, and that the *status quo* should be maintained.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Longju is in their hands. It means military control.

- “3. While determining the boundary between the two countries, certain geographical principles such as watershed, river valleys and mountain passes could be applicable equally to all sectors of the boundary.”

We naturally agree that watersheds are very important factors—the most important factors in mountainous regions, river valleys, etc. It does not carry us anywhere.

- “4. A settlement of the boundary question between the two countries should take into account the national feelings of the two peoples for the Himalayas and the Karakoram mountains.”

I take it as a response to the fact that the Himalayas are an intimate part of India and Indian culture. If the Chinese feel strongly about the Karakoram, they are welcome to do so; I have no objection to it.

MR. HEM BARUA: Do they mean a plebiscite there?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There is no reference to a plebiscite anywhere. We cannot have a plebiscite of the mountain peaks in the Himalayas.

- “5. Pending settlement of the boundary question through discussions, both sides should keep to the line of actual control and should not put forward territorial claims as preconditions, but individual adjustments may be made.”

Whatever the explanation of that may be, it is rather an odd way of putting it. Presumably it means that they will not discuss anything unless the territorial claim is accepted. It may be that; it is not quite clear.

"6. In order to ensure tranquillity on the border so as to facilitate the discussions, both sides should continue to refrain from patrolling along all sectors of the boundary."

AN HON. MEMBER: Which boundary?

THE PRIME MINISTER: This is what he has said. This is not something that I agreed to. In fact, he said before this, that:

"On the boundary question, it is not impossible for the two sides to find a common point or point of proximity which in my view may be summarized as follows..."

and then he has summarized them. He has given his view; it is not so clear, but there it is. I am not agreeable to this particular approach, but I should like to make one or two things clear.

I believe he was asked something like, "Were you asked to vacate?" In what form, I do not remember. I think his answer was...

MR. A. B. VAJPAYEE: He is reported to have said that the issue of Chinese aggression was not raised by India.

THE PRIME MINISTER: He said that he was not asked to vacate or something like that.

The Prime Minister of the Chinese People's Republic presumably came here because something important had happened, the important thing being that, according to us, they had entered a large area of our territory, which we considered aggression. That was the whole basis of his coming here. And hon. Members may remember that in one or two public statements I made at the airport and at the banquet, I had repeatedly referred to something having been done which should be undone. Our whole argument was based on the Chinese forces having come into our territory. Their argument was that they had always been there—not those particular forces, but the Chinese authorities either of Sinkiang in the north or of Tibet had been in constructive or actual possession

of these areas for two hundred years. That was such a variance in the factual state that there was no meeting ground. We repeat, again after all these talks, that their forces came into this area within quite recent times, in the course of the last year and a half or so. That is our case, to which we hold.

In the course of our long talks, we listened to each other. Talking with interpreters who interpret Chinese into the English language is a very laborious process. It takes three times the length of time that a normal talk takes; an hour's talk will become a three-hour talk with interpretation into Chinese. In the prolonged talks that took place, this basic disagreement about historical and actual facts came up again and again.

We are quite clear in our minds about our facts and we stated them, and we are prepared to establish them with such material as we have. The Chinese position was basically different, historically, actually, practically.

Also, an attempt was made to equate the eastern sector with the western sector. That is, according to the Chinese, we had no right to be there in the eastern sector but we had advanced gradually, in the course of the last eight to ten years, to the present boundary line which we call the McMahon Line. They equated it with the western sector, although the conditions are quite different and the facts are quite different.

Thus the actual discussion came up against the rock of entirely different sets of data. If data differ, if inferences differ, arguments differ. If the basic facts are different, then there is no meeting ground at all.

Therefore, it was suggested, and ultimately agreed to, that these facts should be explored from the material available with us and with the Chinese Government. I had suggested that it might be done here and now. While we were prepared to do it, they said they did not have most of their material here. Thereafter it was suggested that this factual examination might be done on an official basis, after our talks. This was agreed to.

It is obvious that the officials who might do it have no authority or competence to deal with the political aspect of the problem in the sense of suggesting a solution or

recommending anything. That is not their function. All they can do is to examine facts and, as stated in the communique, to list, more or less, the facts that are agreed to, the facts on which there is a difference of opinion and those on which perhaps some further enquiry may be necessary. I do not imagine that this process will clarify the situation and make it easy of solution. But it might make some basic facts somewhat clearer. At any rate we would know exactly on what evidence their case stands. At the moment we do not know that; we know only what they state. They know our evidence to some extent. When they could not produce all their evidence, there was no reason why we should produce all of ours. Anyhow, some of our officials are going to meet some of their officials with our set of facts, material, documents, etc. and to examine their set of material, maps, documents, revenue reports, revenue records, etc. They will give an objective report which, presumably, will not be a report in which both agree. That report, presumably, will then be considered by the two Governments and they will decide what other steps might be taken. Meanwhile we have to avoid clashes on the border areas, because these clashes help nobody.

MR. MAHAVIR TYAGI: I wonder if it would be possible at any stage during these negotiations to make the people of India aware of their facts and their claims.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Neither their facts nor our facts are secret. Our facts are well known; so are theirs except in minor matters. In two or three sentences, I shall place them before the House now.

Their case is that from immemorial times, at any rate for hundreds of years, their border has been from the Karakoram range to the Kongka Pass. Unless you have maps, you will not be able to understand it. If you accept that border, a large area of Ladakh is cut off. They say that the northern part of this area pertained to Sinkiang, not to Tibet at all, and the lower part to Tibet. That is their case, broadly. They say that it is not the present Government but the previous Chinese Government that came there. They referred to something that I had said in Parliament here which some hon. Members perhaps did not like. They took advantage of that

from their own point of view. They said, "How is possession possible there in an area which is an arid area where nobody lives?"

MR. HEM BARUA: We pointed that out.

THE PRIME MINISTER: They said that most of this area was like the Gobi desert. They did not have normal administrative apparatus there but constructive control with an administrative officer or tax-collector going there sometimes. They added: "But we have been in constructive and actual possession of this all along, long before the present People's Government came."

But one thing which is worth noticing is that throughout our correspondence or talks, they have never precisely given their boundaries by defining the latitude, longitude, mountain peaks, etc. as we have done. Hon. Members will see how even in the White Paper we have given our boundary very precisely. But our efforts to get their boundary precisely did not succeed.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH: The Prime Minister has said that we have agreed to avoid clashes. Does it mean that our patrol personnel will not go to patrol our territory?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The communique says that every effort should be made by the parties to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas. That is a general direction which we take and which we give. It is difficult and partly undesirable to be precise about it. We cannot immobilize people. But it is right to tell them that they should not take any step which obviously brings them into conflict.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH: That is not my point. There is a long distance separating the Chinese-occupied area of Ladakh and the area actually administered by us. I want to know what will be the situation if our patrol personnel are not allowed to patrol the territory?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Our people will be completely free to move about these areas without coming into conflict.

MR. A. B. VAJPAYEE: Has the Government committed itself that, pending factual investigation, no steps will be taken to eject the Chinese from Indian soil?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I should think that it was absolutely clear. You either have war or you have some kind

of talks. You cannot have something in between the two.

### REPORT OF THE OFFICIAL DELEGATION

THE HOUSE KNOWS well enough how recent developments have created a wide gulf in the relations between India and China. We have felt strongly about it, and the House has also felt strongly about it. Nevertheless, we have tried to avoid, in so far as we can, taking any steps which may create unbridgeable chasms between the two countries. We have to look, at this moment of history, not only to the present but to the future; and the future of India and China who are neighbours to each other and have vast populations, is of the highest importance to themselves and to the world. So we have tried to steer a middle course between our strong resentment and the steps we actually take in this context. We try not to allow ourselves merely in anger to do something which may create further problems and difficulties. Broadly, our attitude has been to strengthen ourselves to prepare for any contingency and not in the slightest to give in on any matter which we consider important.

Some hon. Members have asked why we have not taken stronger action. The answer would be that one takes strong action when all other actions are precluded and also when one is prepared for strong action. A further answer would be that when the consequences are so vast and far-reaching, one does not jump into that type of action unless there is absolutely no other way left.

The other actions which we have taken in regard to this matter—for instance, the delegation of officials who produced a report on the basis of a factual examination of materials—were in the nature of strengthening our position before the world, certainly before the Chinese Government and people, and preventing anything from happening which might weaken

our position. The report which many hon. Members may have read is a product of patient, hard work on the part of our officials. It is not something which is suddenly done. It is the result of years of research, before this Chinese trouble came. The fact that we hold on to a right position, without giving in, is a sign of our strength and produces a certain continuing result. I do not rule it out—although it may seem unlikely today—that the strength and correctness of our position may dawn on the Chinese Government's mind. If so, I am going to try my best and see that it is appreciated by them and they realize that they have done a wrong thing from which they should withdraw.

### BUILDING UP OUR STRENGTH

AS EVERYONE KNOWS, Ladakh is a part of Kashmir. Kashmir was a State under a Maharaja and the defence of Kashmir lay with the Maharaja except that the Government of India, in British times, could be called upon to help when necessity arose. There was no fear in those days of an attack from the side of Tibet or from any other side on Kashmir. The fear of the British in the old Czarist days was that possibly Russia might come down through Kashmir or through Afghanistan into India. There was this fear of Russia in the British mind right through the nineteenth century. The Maharaja's Government did not consider it at all necessary to protect the eastern borders of Kashmir and Ladakh. There was some slight argument about one or two parts. In fact, there were four or five villages in the heart of Tibet, far from the Ladakh border, which were the *zamindari* of Kashmir, and every second or third year the Kashmir Government sent a little mission to these villages to collect the revenue, Rs. 100 or Rs. 200, in order to assert its *zamindari* right. The process was peaceful. No question arose of having any

protective apparatus on that border in the Maharaja's time.

A month or two after our independence came the invasion of Kashmir by the tribals and later by the Pakistani troops. During the fighting in 1948, part of Ladakh was occupied by the Pakistani troops. In fact they cut off the main access to Ladakh which is the road from Srinagar to Leh passing the big pass Zoji-La, and we were compelled to use another, a difficult and roundabout route, from Manali in the Kulu valley over very high mountains, to reach Leh. We did reach Leh. It was a remarkable effort of our Army to drive the Pakistanis from Zoji-La. In fact the Army built the road. It describes a sudden rise of about 2,500 to 3,000 feet winding up the mountain, and from the top of the mountain one sees on the one side the wooded valley of Kashmir and on the other bare treeless rocks of the uplands of Little Tibet as Ladakh is called. Our Army took the tanks up there and drove out the Pakistani troops and gradually assured the protection of Leh and eastern Ladakh. A part of western Ladakh remained in the possession of the Pakistani troops. Included in the area occupied by Pakistan in Kashmir is a part of Ladakh about which she wants to talk to China. This is the background. Just about the time when we were busy fighting the Pakistanis, the Chinese came to Tibet. A great power was next to us. We saw that the situation had changed.

Our judgment of the situation was that the danger lay in the NEFA part and, therefore, from then on we tried to protect the NEFA border. Gradually we have built up outposts there and, more important, administration has gradually spread in NEFA. At the same time we thought of Ladakh too. We thought that Ladakh had to be protected, but it was a very difficult task to reach the places where our posts are now located. It takes about three weeks' or a month's journey by road. We sent some small teams to survey, and they went across Ladakh, and that is the evidence we have that no Chinese were there at that time. We established an airfield there because we wanted to cover Ladakh and not leave it unprotected. Our Air Force calls it the highest airfield in the world. It is at an elevation of about 14,000 feet. About six



or seven years ago I went to that airfield. Therefore, I told Mr. Chou En-lai that I could speak from my own evidence, apart from others' evidence; that I went to the airfield and his people were not anywhere near the place; that I went a second time and I saw his people on a hill-top nearby, and they had come since. He had no particular answer. The main thing is that quite apart from any claims based on history, the Chinese were not there and they are there now. It was a peaceful frontier, and it is not a peaceful frontier now. I was pointing out how difficult it was for us to organize any defence system in Ladakh. We have gradually done it, but we cannot put forward a defence post unconnected with the rest. It has to be in tiers. The very first thing which was necessary was to build the road to Leh. A good road exists now. Other roads also have been built. But mostly our communications are by air and our Air Force has done a very fine piece of work in supplying our posts by air. Those who are actually at the posts are a fine lot of men and I should like to express our high appreciation of them.

This background may lead the House to understand that before the Chinese came to Tibet, we could not hold them at the frontier. The one border which we protected more or less adequately was the NEFA border. I am quite sure if we had not held them there, they would have walked in. They did walk in more or less on the Ladakh border.

One aspect of this trouble which has the character of an opportunist adventure is the fact of Pakistan and China trying to collaborate together in this matter. It is very surprising that Pakistan which is the champion standard-bearer against communism and is a member of CENTO and SEATO should now try to team up with China, and that China should to some extent, appreciate this and meet it, in spite of their utterly different policies. Apparently the only policy in common between them is dislike of India.

We have to face this situation, and in facing it we have to remember that it is not merely a frontier incursion or aggression. It is something much deeper. It involves the future relationship of two of the biggest countries of Asia. Continuing hostility between India and China will affect us, affect China

and affect Asia and will have other far-reaching effects for generations. It will be a tremendous burden for the countries concerned. When the world is changing very fast, for us to be tied up with a continuing war would be unfortunate. At the same time it is obvious that no country worth its grain, and certainly not India, can submit to bullying tactics and to force being used to take its territory and to show that it can be treated casually by any other country. It is impossible, whatever the consequences might be. We have to face this difficult situation with our courage and strength. Strength, of course, depends on what we do on the frontier, but strength ultimately depends upon the unity of effort in the country.

### MASSIVE AGGRESSION ON OUR FRONTIERS

COMRADES, FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: I am speaking to you on the radio after a long interval. I feel that I must speak to you about the grave situation which has arisen on our frontiers because of continuing and unabashed aggression by the Chinese forces. A situation has arisen which calls upon all of us to meet it effectively.

We are men and women of peace in this country, conditioned to the ways of peace. We are unused to the necessities of war. Because of this, we endeavoured to follow a policy of peace even when aggression took place on our territory in Ladakh five years ago. We explored avenues for an honourable settlement by peaceful methods. That was our policy all over the world, and we tried to apply it even in our own country. We know the horrors of war in this age today, and we have done our utmost to prevent war from engulfing the world.

But all our efforts have been in vain in so far as our own frontier is concerned, where a powerful and unscrupulous opponent, not caring for peace or peaceful methods, has continuously threatened us and even carried the threats into

action. The time has, therefore, come for us to realize fully this menace which threatens the freedom of our people and the independence of our country. I say so even though I realize that no power can ultimately imperil the freedom which we have won at so much sacrifice and cost to our people after long ages of foreign domination. But, to conserve that freedom and integrity of our territory we must gird up our loins and face this greatest menace which has come to us since we became independent. I have no doubt in my mind that we shall succeed. Everything else is secondary to the freedom of our people and of our Motherland. If necessary, everything else has to be sacrificed in this great crisis.

I do not propose to give you the long history of continuous aggression by the Chinese during the last five years and how they have tried to justify it by speeches, arguments and the repeated assertion of untruths and a campaign of calumny and vituperation against our country. Perhaps, there are not many instances in history where one country, that is India, has gone out of her way to be friendly and co-operative with the Chinese Government and people and to plead their cause in the councils of the world, and then for the Chinese Government to return evil for good and even go to the extent of committing aggression and invade our sacred land. No self-respecting country, and certainly not India with her love of freedom, can submit to this, whatever the consequences may be.

There have been five years of continuous aggression on the Ladakh frontier. Our frontier in NEFA remained largely free from this aggression. Just when we were discussing ways and means of reducing tension, and there was even some chance of the representatives of the two countries meeting to consider this matter, a new and fresh aggression took place on the NEFA border. This began on the 8th of September last. This was a curious way of lessening tension. It is typical of the way the Chinese Government have treated us.

Our border with China in the NEFA region is well known and well established from ages past. It is sometimes called the McMahon Line. This line which separated India from Tibet was the line of the high ridges which divided the watersheds. This has been acknowledged as the border by history, tradition

and treaties long before it was called the McMahon Line. The Chinese have in many ways acknowledged it as the border, even though they have called the McMahon Line illegal. The Chinese laid claim, in their maps, to a large part of NEFA which has been under our administration for a long time. The present Chinese regime was established about 12 years ago. Before that, the Tibetans did not challenge it. Even the maps which the Chinese produced were acknowledged by them repeatedly to be old and out-of-date maps which had little relevance today.

Yet, on this peaceful border where no trouble or fighting had occurred for a long time, the Chinese committed aggression and that in very large numbers and after vast preparations for a major attack.

I am grieved at the set-backs to our troops that have occurred on this frontier and the reverses that we have had. They were overwhelmed by vast numbers and by big artillery, mountain guns and heavy mortars which the Chinese forces have brought with them. I should like to pay a tribute to our officers and men who faced these overwhelming numbers with courage. There may be some more reverses in that area. But one thing is certain, that the final result of this conflict will be in our favour. It cannot be otherwise when a nation like India fights for her freedom and the integrity of the country.

We have to meet a powerful and unscrupulous opponent. We have, therefore, to build up our strength and power to face this situation adequately and with confidence. The conflict may continue for long. We must prepare ourselves for it mentally and otherwise. We must have faith in ourselves, and I am certain that the faith and our preparations will triumph. No other result is conceivable. Let there be this faith and fixed determination to free our country from the aggressor.

We must steel our wills and direct the nation's energy and resources to this one end. We must change our procedures from slow-moving methods of peacetime to those that produce results quickly. We must build up our military strength by all means at our disposal.

But military strength is not by itself enough. It has to be supported fully by the industry of the nation, and by

increase in our production in every way. I would appeal to all our workers not to indulge in strikes or in any other act which comes in the way of increasing production. That production has to be not only in the factory, but in the field. No anti-national or anti-social activities can be tolerated when the nation is in peril.

We shall have to carry a heavy burden whatever our vocations may be. The price of freedom will have to be paid in full measure, and no price is too great for the freedom of our people and of our Motherland.

I earnestly trust and I believe that all parties and groups in the country will unite in this great enterprise and put aside their controversies and arguments which have no place today, and present a solid united front against all those who seek to endanger our freedom and integrity.

The burden on us is going to be great. We must add greatly to our savings by the purchase of bonds to help to finance production and meet the increasing cost of national defence. We must prevent any rise in prices, and we must realize that those who seek to profit at a time of national difficulty are anti-national and injure the nation.

We are in the middle of our Third Five Year Plan. There can be no question of our giving up this Plan or reducing any important element of it. We may adapt it to the new requirements here and there. But, essentially, the major projects of the Plan must be pursued and implemented, because it is in that way that we shall strengthen our country not only in the present crisis, but in the years to come.

There are many other things which our people can do, and I hope to indicate some of them at a later stage. But the principal thing is to devote ourselves to the task of forging the national will to freedom and to work hard to that end. There is no time-limit to this. We shall carry on the struggle as long as we do not win, because we cannot submit to the aggression or to the domination of others.

We must avoid any panic because that is bad at any time, and there is no reason for it. We have behind us the strength of a united nation. Let us rejoice because of this and apply it to the major task of today, which is preserving our complete

freedom and integrity and the removal of all those who commit aggression on India's sacred territory. Let us face this crisis not light-heartedly, but with seriousness and with a stout heart and with firm faith in the rightness of our struggle and confidence in its outcome. Do not believe in rumours. Do not listen to those who have faint hearts. This is a time of trial and testing for all of us, and we have to steel ourselves to the task. Perhaps, we were growing too soft and taking things for granted. But freedom can never be taken for granted. It requires always awareness, strength and austerity.

I invite all of you, to whatever religion or party or group you may belong, to be comrades in this great struggle that has been forced upon us. I have full faith in our people and in the cause and in the future of our country. Perhaps, that future requires some such testing and stiffening for us.

We have followed a policy of non-alignment and sought friendship of all nations. I believe in that policy fully and we shall continue to follow it. We are not going to give up our basic principles because of the present difficulty. Even this difficulty will be more effectively met by our continuing that policy.

I wish you well, and whatever may befall us in the future, I want you to hold your heads high and have faith and full confidence in the great future that we envisage for our country.

JAI HIND !

### WE ACCEPT CHINA'S CHALLENGE

FOR FIVE YEARS we have been the victims of Chinese aggression across our frontiers in the north. That aggression was, to begin with, rather furtive. Occasionally there were some incidents and conflicts. These conflicts might well be termed frontier incidents. Today we have seen a regular and massive invasion of our territory by very large forces.

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From speech in Lok Sabha while moving the resolution on Chinese aggression, November 8, 1962

China, which claimed and still claims to be anti-imperialist, is pursuing a course today for which comparisons can only be sought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In those past days, the European powers, in the full flood of imperialist aggression and with strength and weapons given to them by the industrial revolution, took possession of large parts of Asia and Africa by force. That imperialism has abated now, and many of the colonies of European countries have been freed and are independent countries. But, curiously, the very champions of anti-imperialism, that is, the People's Government of China, are now following the course of aggression and imperialist expansion.

It is sad to think that we in India, who have pleaded for peace all over the world, sought the friendship of China, and treated them with courtesy and consideration and pleaded their cause in the councils of the world, should now ourselves be victims of a new imperialism and expansionism by a country which says that it is against all imperialism. This strange twist of history has brought us face to face with something that we have not experienced in this way for over a hundred years or more. We had taken it almost for granted that despite some lapses in recent years—as in the Suez affair—this type of aggression was a thing of the past. Even the Chinese aggression on our border during the last five years, bad as it was and indicative of an expansionist tendency, though it troubled us greatly, hardly led us to the conclusion that China would indulge in a massive invasion of India. We have now seen and experienced this very invasion. It has shocked us, as it has shocked a large number of countries.

History has taken a new turn in Asia and perhaps the world, and we have to fight with all our might this menace to our freedom and integrity. Not only are we threatened by it, but all the standards of international behaviour have been upset and all the world is affected by it. No self-respecting country which loves its freedom and its integrity can possibly submit to this challenge. Certainly India, this dear land of ours, will never submit to it, whatever the consequences. We accept the challenge in all its consequences.

It may be that this challenge is also an opportunity for us.

Indeed, the people of India in their millions have demonstrated that they accept this challenge and have shown a unity and an enthusiasm such as has been very seldom in evidence. A crisis has come and we have stood up to face it and meet that crisis.

We have previously demonstrated by a mass of evidence that our boundary is what has been called the McMahon Line, but the boundary was not laid down even by McMahon. It was a recognition of the long-standing frontier on the high ridge of the Himalayas which divided the two countries at the watershed. To some extent, though indirectly, the Chinese accepted this. Certainly they accepted the continuation of this Line in Burma. Apart from the constitutional or legal aspects, it is undoubted and cannot be challenged that no Chinese has ever been on this side of the Line excepting, as the House knows, in a little border village called Longju.

Even the McMahon Line, which the Chinese have called illegal, was laid down 48 years ago, in 1914. It has been a part of India for a long number of years. Apart from the previous history, which is also in our favour, here is a boundary which for nearly 50 years has been shown to be our northern frontier. I am limiting what I say to 50 years for the sake of argument; really it was true even earlier. Even if the Chinese did not accept it—and I should like to say that the objection they raised in 1914 to the treaty was not based on their objection to the McMahon Line but to another part of the treaty which divided Inner Tibet and Outer Tibet—and even if it is a fact that they objected to the whole treaty because of that other objection, this has been in existence now in our maps, in our practice, in our Constitution, in our organization, in our administration for nearly 50 years.

I must confess that the Chinese attempt to make falsehood appear to be the truth and the truth to be the falsehood has amazed me. Nothing can be more utterly baseless than what they have been saying. We have been up to the McMahon Line all these years, and we have not gone one inch beyond nor have we coveted another's territory. Let us for the moment assume their case that there is some doubt about where the McMahon Line is. But the point is that they have invaded



an area which has not been in their possession ever in the history of the last 10,000 years. After all, the present Chinese Government came into existence 12 years ago or thereabout. Any claim that they may directly make to this territory can only be made either in these 12 years or possibly previously through Tibet. So, it becomes a question of what they can claim through Tibet or through domination over Tibet. It is true that for a long time past, even in British times, there were some frontier questions between Tibet and India. But all these questions were about little pockets or little frontier areas. Nobody has ever put forward, no Tibetan Government has ever put forward previously, these large claims to what amounts to two-thirds of NEFA, apart from the vast area in Ladakh.

We, therefore, arrive at one firm conclusion which is not capable of argument or denial; that is that the Chinese have come with a massive force into this territory which for a long time has been included in India and administered by India. If they had any claim they could have discussed it and talked about it and adopted various means of peaceful settlement, appointed arbitration or gone to The Hague Court.

To say that we are committing aggression on Chinese territory is a kind of double talk which is very difficult for a man of my simple mind to understand. We commit aggression on ourselves! We commit aggression on the soil of our own country! And they defend it by coming over the mountains into our territory! It is really extraordinary to what length people can go to justify their misdeeds.

It has been unfortunate that the present Government of China is not represented in the United Nations. Hon. Members are surprised that we have supported representation of the People's Government of China in the United Nations. We have supported it in spite of this present invasion, because it is not a question of likes or dislikes, but a question of what will make misbehaviour impossible and disarmament possible. You might disarm the whole world and leave China, a great, powerful country, fully armed to the teeth. That would be inconceivable. Therefore, in spite of our great resentment at what they have done, I am glad to say that we kept some

perspective about things and supported the move even now. The difficulty is that one cannot call them up before any tribunal or world court or anywhere. They are just a wholly irresponsible country believing in war as the only way of settling anything, and having no love of peace. I am not going into the question, as some people do, of communism or anti-communism. I do not believe that that is a major issue in this matter. The major issue is that an expansionist, imperialist country is deliberately invading our country.

This crisis is none of our making or seeking. It is China which has sought to enforce its so-called territorial claims by military might. Indeed, she has advanced beyond the line of her territorial claims. Their frontier is a mobile one; anything they could grab becomes their frontier.

In this task, in defending our frontiers and our motherland, we have sought help from all friendly countries. I wish to express my gratitude for the prompt response to our appeal for sympathy and support which have been given to us by various countries. This help that is given is unconditional and without any strings. It does not, therefore, affect directly our policy of non-alignment which we value. Those countries which have helped us have themselves recognized this and made it clear that they do not expect us to leave that policy. Help has been given to us swiftly by the United States, by the United Kingdom and by some other friendly countries. We are in touch with many others. We have also made approaches to other friendly countries like the Soviet Union and France for supplies and equipment.

We have often declared that we do not covet any territory of anyone else; we are quite satisfied with our own territory such as it is. But we do not submit to anyone else coveting our territory; and although the aggressor in this instance has gained some initial successes—I do not know what they have in mind, whether they want to use it as a bargaining counter or they have some other evil designs—we cannot submit to it, whatever the consequences.

In effect we have to look at this matter as an effort of the whole nation. What we really want is the whole people mobilized for this effort doing their separate jobs whether it

is in the field, the factory or the battlefield, thus combining together and strengthening the nation and bringing success to us. We have to be armed, therefore, not only with weapons of warfare but with weapons of agriculture and industry as well.

We do not minimize our task. Let no man minimize it or have illusions about it. It is not a thing which we can deal with by momentary enthusiasm. It is a long effort that we require, a difficult effort, and we shall have to go all-out to do our utmost.

I want to send on your behalf our greetings, and assurance of our full assistance to our soldiers and airmen who are working under extraordinarily difficult circumstances. To those who have fallen in defence of the country we pay our homage. They will not be forgotten by us or by those who follow us. I am confident that all sides of the House will stand united in this great venture and will demonstrate to the world that free India which has stood for peace and will always stand for peace and friendship with other countries can never tolerate aggression and invasion.

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MUCH HAS BEEN said about our unpreparedness. I do not seek to justify any error that we might have committed, but I do think that many hon. Members have done an injustice, not to this Minister or that, but to our armed forces as a whole, in making various charges. I hope to disabuse their minds by stating some facts. The one fact, as I said, is that our whole mentality has been governed by an approach of peace. That does not mean that we did not think of war or of defending our country. We had that always in mind. But there is such a thing as being conditioned in a certain way and, I am afraid, even now we are conditioned somewhat in that way.

Mr. Anthony said that our nation must be brutalized, that Jawaharlal Nehru must be brutalized. I hope that our nation, much less my humble self, will never be brutalized

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From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on the resolution on Chinese aggression, November 14, 1962

because it is a strange idea that one can only be strong by being brutal. I reject that idea completely. Our strength lies in other factors. Brutality is a thing which we have associated with certain movements which we have objected to or rejected. By becoming brutal and thinking in those brutal ways we lose our souls and that will be a tremendous loss. I hope that India, which is essentially a gentle and peace-loving country, will retain that mind even though it may have to carry on war, with all its consequences to the utmost.

There is a definite distinction between being strong and being brutalized. I need not mention an instance which has lent prestige to our history—the instance of the long period when Gandhiji was controlling the destinies of our movement for freedom. No man can say that Gandhiji was brutal. He was the essence of humility and of peace. No man can say that Gandhiji was weak. He was the strongest man that India or any country has produced. It was that peculiar mixture of strength with sacrifice to the uttermost, yet a certain humility in utterance and a certain friendly approach even to our opponents and enemies, that made him what he was. Those of us who were privileged to serve with him and under him do not, of course, claim to be better than him. We are humble folk who cannot be compared with the truly great, but something of the lesson that he taught came down upon us and we learnt it in a small measure. In the measure we learnt it we also became strong though, I hope, not brutal. So I would like to stress that I do not want to become brutal; I do not want that aspect of the cold war and the hot war which leads to hatred and dislike of a whole people and to looking upon them as something below normal.

Wars are terrible and millions of people die; much destruction is caused. Yet, after all, death comes to all of us and if it comes a little earlier in the great cause than otherwise, it is not to be sorrowed for. We have to face it as men. Death in a good cause is not a thing to regret, even though we may regret the parting with our colleagues and comrades. But brutality is something which degrades a person.

We have nothing against the Chinese people. We regret things that their Government has done. We think that their

Government has acted infamously towards us. We regret many things that their Government has done in their country. We cannot help them. But we must always distinguish between the people of a country—much more so of a great country, great in size, great in history—and its government and not transfer somehow our anger and bitterness at what has been done by the Government to the people.

I cannot say how the Chinese people feel now, because they have no chance to express their feelings. Even if they had a chance, their minds are so conditioned by constant propaganda, and by one-sided news, that they are likely to feel one way even though they might not have otherwise done so. We should always distinguish between government action and the people as a whole. Therefore, I have not liked the attacks on some poor Chinese shopkeepers and restaurant-keepers in Delhi or elsewhere as if they were the symbols of the attack on us. Perhaps some people thought so. But it was wrong of them to think so. It brutalizes us and gives us a bad name. I should particularly like to lay stress on this aspect because it does not add to our strength in the least; it weakens the nervous energy that we possess by using it in wrong directions.

Before the 20th October, it was not realized by the people at large what dangers possibly might confront us. They thought of frontier incidents. Hon. Members in this House criticized us for not taking steps in Ladakh to drive out the Chinese, not realizing that it was not such an easy matter. Perhaps they now realize it a little more that these things are not such easy matters, that they require not only strength but strength properly utilized, properly directed, and enormous preparation and consideration of military factors. Where these factors are against us, naturally we suffer a reverse, no matter what our strength is. Our jawans are very strong. I might mention for the information of the House that after the Chinese started nibbling at our territory in Ladakh a couple of years ago, we considered the question of what we should do if they attacked. We hoped that they would not attack there. We expected that they would not attack in such large numbers as to bring about a regular invasion with several

divisions, as they did. Nevertheless, we did consider what should be done if they did so. The advice that we received then was that it would be disadvantageous for us to try to hold to the exact frontier line, the McMahon Line, since the real defence line should be lower down, but that we should delay them, we should harass them, we should fight them a little. Partly because to the last moment we did not expect this invasion in overwhelming numbers, and partly because we disliked the idea of walking back in our own territory, we faced the Chinese under very disadvantageous circumstances from a military point of view. In addition to that, enormous numbers came over. It is no criticism at all of our officers or men that they were somewhat overwhelmed by this deluge and they had to retire to more defensive positions.

Mr. Frank Anthony, I think, said that we have been enabled to put up some kind of line of defence because we have received arms from abroad. Now, we are very grateful for the arms and material and equipment that have come from abroad but no arms which had been brought had reached our troops by the time we achieved the present position. It was with the existing equipment that they brought the Chinese advance to a standstill.

The real, basic reason for our reverses in the early days of this campaign was the very large forces the Chinese threw in. In a restricted sphere or field, they outnumbered our forces many many times. Even the question of whose arms were better did not arise. We had slightly better arms, but they had better mortars to hit at from some distance. That was the main reason, and there was nothing that we could do about it, because the geography of the place was against us in that particular area. Our only fault, if it was a fault, was even to stick out where the military appraisal was not very favourable. It was not that we told them to stick out; it would be folly for any politician to say so. But our soldiers themselves have a reluctance to pull back, and they stuck on at considerable cost to themselves.

I referred to the great unity in the country, which is a wonderful factor. It is not unity of parties so much as the

unity of hearts and minds. The million faces of India all bear the same impress today, whatever community or party he or she may belong to.

I should like to say something even about the Communists. Now, the Communist Party's manifesto, as a manifesto, was, I think, as good as if it had been drafted by any non-Communist. People may think or say that it does not represent their real views but is the result of pressure from outside. Let us suppose that it did not represent some of their views. There are some in the Communist Party who even objected to this manifesto and were overruled. Even so, the fact that conditions in the country were such that they decided to issue that manifesto is a factor of some importance. It shows what conditions have moulded people's minds in India, the minds of all of us, of even those who belong to a party which, for reasons known to Members, was inclined in the past somewhat to favour the Chinese on the ground that they were also Communists. Even then they (the Communists of India) have stood out, and stood up four-square against this attack as any hundred per cent nationalist would do. That is a good thing. Why should we not take full advantage of it instead of deriding it and seeking to guess why they did it? After all, Communist leaders may quarrel amongst themselves about ideologies, theses and what not, but the large number of ordinary workers or others who belong to the Communist Party are simple folk. They are attracted by something in it, and those simple folk are affected, just as others are affected, by the situation. That is a great gain. Why should we lessen the effect of that by telling them that it is a wrong manifesto? So I welcome that manifesto, and we should take full advantage of it in forging the unity against aggression that we have in fact forged.

I should like to lay stress on the general question of our preparedness, because some hon. Members seem to think that we sent our soldiers barefoot and without proper clothing to fight in the NEFA mountains. It is really extraordinary to say that they were almost unarmed and barefooted.

Some soldiers had been stationed there. Others were sent rather in a hurry in September. Our time for issuing winter

clothes is about the middle of September. When the soldiers were sent, they went in full uniform—full warm uniform, woollen uniform—and every man had two good boots. As they were going, they were given three blankets apiece. Later on, the supply was raised to four blankets. They are now issued four thick army blankets. But as they were going by air, and as these blankets took so much room, the officer in charge and the men themselves said : “They take so much room and, therefore, send them later on to us.” It was not so very cold then. So each one of them took one blanket and left the others to be sent later on. That was a little unfortunate, because sending them later meant air-dropping them. And air-dropping was a hazardous business in those days. Apart from the fact that the Chinese then could fire at us, air-dropping in those very precipitous areas in the mountains could not be accurately carried out. Often they went into the *khud*, the deep ravine below, and it was difficult to recover them. So we lost these blankets and other things—a good deal of our supplies.

In fact those soldiers of ours who were permanently located there had snow boots in addition to regular boots. Broadly speaking, I would say that all our Army in NEFA was well-clad and well-booted. But, towards the end of September, realizing that the Chinese forces were increasing very rapidly, we decided to send more troops quickly. These troops were sent in a hurry. Sometimes it so happened that troops being sent somewhere else were diverted to NEFA, and these troops certainly did not have the full complement of winter clothing then. Of course, it was decided to send the clothing later. Except for these troops that went later and which did not have the full complement—which subsequently was supplied to them—all others had the full army complement, and many of them had snow boots also. In any event, everyone had good stout army boots.

Some people have heard stories of frost-bite. The total number of frost-bite cases was probably about 40 out of about two or three thousand, which is a very small percentage considering the conditions. Of these too, we may say that half the cases were due to the altitude and not to lack of foot-cover-



ing. The cases occurred not in our regular Army serving on the front. When the fierce onslaught of the Chinese came on the 20th October, our forces in one or two places were dispersed. They could not return to the base. They dispersed, and they wandered about the mountains for some days before returning ultimately. That was also the reason perhaps for people saying that the casualties were very heavy. I think these persons who returned a few days later were over 1,600 in number. During these few days they naturally were not well-protected. When they were wandering, they did not have the facilities of the Army—blankets and other things—which they would have had at the base camp. They were wandering in high altitudes and they suffered a great deal. That was where the frost-bite cases chiefly occurred. When they came back, they were put in hospital and they are doing fairly well.

It might interest hon. Members to know that in Ladakh, around the Chushul area, the temperature at present is 30 degrees below zero. Such is the ferocity of that climate. It does not matter how many clothes you may wear in a temperature of 30 degrees below zero at an altitude of over 14,000 feet, unless you are used to it. Now, learning from experience, we have provided, in addition to all the other winter materials that our soldiers have, thick cotton-padded coats and trousers. They may not look so smart as the other clothes, but they are very warm. We started providing these within a few days of the 20th, as soon as we felt that our soldiers ought to have these. We have been sending these cotton-padded coats and trousers at the rate first of 500 a day and later at the rate of nearly 1,000 a day.

The other charge made is about weapons, that the soldiers did not have proper weapons. The jawans who went there were supplied with all the normal equipment, that is, .303 rifles and the complement of automatic weapons such as light machine guns and medium machine guns. They did not have semi-automatic rifles because our Army does not possess them. I might point out that many up-to-date armies in the West do not possess them yet. Even in England, the change-over to semi-automatic rifles has just taken place. It took about four or five years and has been completed a few

months ago. It is a lengthy process. And the British Army is relatively smaller than ours.

For about four years now, we have been considering and discussing this matter. Various difficulties arose. Points of view were different. The easiest way is always to order a ready-made article. But the easy way is not always a good way. Apart from the continuing difficulty we have to face, that is, lack of foreign exchange, etc., it is not the way to build up the strength of a nation. If we get something today, we have to get ammunition for it all the time and we are completely in the hands of some other country, specially if we have to deal with private suppliers in other countries. The House knows that the arms racket is the worst racket of all; because you need something, they make you pay through the nose.

So we were very much against getting arms from private suppliers outside and we thought that we should build up our own arms industry to manufacture semi-automatic rifles. These arguments, specially in peacetime, take long to decide. Of course, if we had this crisis earlier, we would have functioned better. But it took about two to three years to determine what type we should have. Ultimately, we started the first processes of manufacture and we have just arrived at a stage when within about three weeks or four weeks—in fact some prototypes have been prepared—they will begin to come in in larger numbers and will increase soon to a substantial quantity.

It is not a question merely of semi-automatic rifles. As I have said, we had automatic machine guns, LMGs and MMGs—light machine guns and medium machine guns. Every regiment had its complement of these. Certainly they did not have semi-automatic rifles for the reasons I have given, namely that we wanted to manufacture them ourselves and this change-over to automatic rifles has been relatively a modern development. But this outlook of ours, about manufacturing things ourselves rather than buying them, covered our whole approach to this question. We are manufacturing a great many things in arms today which we did not previously. The first pressure upon us is always that of finance, that is, foreign exchange. We could not really afford it. Do not compare the situation two or three years ago with the situa-

tion today when we have to meet a crisis. When we meet a crisis like this, it just does not matter what happens. We have to face it. We have to get arms from wherever we can. But the whole approach has been to make them ourselves. How did we make them? The usual manner was that we bought some with the proviso attached that the persons we bought it from would give us the licence and the blue-prints to manufacture them here.

It is all very well to build a factory here and there, but really you want to have a strong industrial background. You cannot, out of a relatively agricultural background, suddenly put up a highly sophisticated factory. All the work we have done, not in the Defence Ministry alone, but all over the country, in our First Five Year Plan, in the Second and in the Third, has been meant to strengthen the nation by making it more modernized and more industrialized and to build up the base out of which you can produce the things you require. You have to have not only a strong industrial base, but also a literate people. People may think that education can be stopped for the time being. Education is essential for a real war effort. It is essential because you want every soldier today to be a better mechanic; he has to be educated as much as possible.

The whole basis of our Five Year Plans, therefore, was to better our people, to raise their level, and to make India stronger to face any trouble that arose. And there is no doubt that we are in a much better position today to face this trouble than we would have been ten or twelve years ago, because of the growth of our industrial base, both in the public sector and in the private sector. If we had to face this business ten or twelve years ago, it would have been very difficult for our Army, even though it was the same brave army as it is today.

I hope, therefore, that no conflict will arise in any person's mind whether we should go ahead with the Third Five Year Plan or devote ourselves to the war effort. The Plan is part of the war effort. I do not say everything in the Third Plan is; some things may be avoided, slowed down, or even dropped. But all the major things that we want have been in the Five Year Plans, and are required today.

I wish to stress that all our thinking in the past, even from the point of view of the Army, has been concentrated on industrialization, on making things ourselves. Today we are getting large quantities of arms and equipment from outside, and we are very grateful especially to the United States, the United Kingdom and other friendly countries. But remember that this kind of response could not have occurred in peacetime. Obviously, because danger threatens us, others feel the same way as we feel. They rightly think that this is not a mere matter of India being invaded by China but that it raises issues of vast importance to Asia and the world. They help us, realizing that this involves many issues in which they themselves are intensely interested. This could not have happened in peacetime.

Someone said we could have bought some of the things at a very heavy price. Today I hope we get them on very special terms, which are being worked out, so as not to put any heavy burden on us now. This kind of thing could not have taken place in peacetime. We would have bought these things, or even one-tenth of what we are buying, at a heavy cost, which would have made our Finance Minister shiver.

What has China done? There are many differences between China and India, but one main difference is that they started on armaments manufacture about 20 years before the success of their revolution. They were fighting all the time. They had a heavily trained army fighting in the mountains. They are especially good at mountain warfare. With a bag of rice and a bag of tea in their pockets, and lightly clad with cotton-padded coats and trousers, they march on, with no question of supplies for days. They concentrated right from the beginning, apart from other developments in the country, on the development of armaments manufacture. They got a good deal of help from the Soviet Union; thousands of people set up their armament industries. We thought we would build up the whole industrial complex of India, and out of that other things would also be built up. Nevertheless, I think we did build up our armament industry fairly adequately, although not as much as we would have liked.

Some people have criticized our diplomatic missions

abroad for not doing as good a job of work as they ought to in putting across our case and countering Chinese propaganda. My information is that our diplomatic missions abroad, by and large, are doing very good work. But the outlook of countries is not determined solely by what we tell them. There are many other factors. I think our missions abroad are doing well and, what is more, their work is being rewarded. The first reaction of many countries—many of the Asian and African countries—was regret and surprise at what had happened. They hoped that it would be quickly ended by some cease-fire and compromise because they found themselves in a difficult position. This surprise is gradually giving way. It has given way in the case of the U.A.R. and in the case of Ghana which originally took up an attitude to our regret but later supported the U.A.R. in making some suggestions to the Chinese Government. These were very near to the suggestions we made about cease-fire. Therefore, I do not think it will be right to criticize our diplomatic missions abroad. You must remember that these countries have their own diplomats too here who report to them, and most of them have got their newspaper correspondents. There are many ways of getting news about what is happening.

About Pakistan and Nepal, it is difficult for me to say anything definite. But I should like to say that latterly the attitude of Nepal has been relatively much more friendly. We have always made it clear—it is unfortunate that they thought that we were creating troubles—that we do not want trouble in Nepal. Anyhow, I think they believe our word now and are very friendly. I hope that our relations will continue to be friendly and cordial. As for Pakistan, their newspapers have been peculiarly virulent about this matter and have been against us, but I do not think they reflect very much the opinion of the people of Pakistan or even of those in authority in Pakistan. Apparently at first they thought this was a small frontier matter and nothing much. But they are realizing how far-reaching are the consequences of this and they are making a reappraisal.

I should like to say a few words about the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government have been, as the House knows,

consistently friendly to us all along. They have been put in a very difficult position in this matter, because they have been, and are, allies of China and hence the embarrassment to them as between a country with which they are friendly and a country which is their ally. We have realized that and we do not expect them to do anything which would definitely mean a breach over there. But we have had their goodwill and good wishes even very recently, and that is a consolation to us and we certainly hope to have that in future.

There has been some criticism about approach to a cease-fire. We have said that before we discuss anything, the Chinese forces must go back and restore the position as it existed before the 8th September, that is, a little over two months ago, when they first came over the Thag La pass. They have suggested something different, and something that is apt to delude the people. They say: let us go back to the position of November 1959. Now, the people who do not know this might well think they are going back three years. But November 1959 was roughly the period when the first claim was made by the Chinese Government, by Mr. Chou En-lai, to these territories according to their maps. They were included in their maps even previously, but nobody had made any official claim. In fact, officially they had said that their maps were old and not up-to-date, and they would revise them. But in 1959, for the first time, they claimed them. Meanwhile, of course, they had gone into a good bit of Ladakh.

In 1959 our counter-measures started taking effect. In 1959, 1960 and 1961 we went into Ladakh more and more and established many posts there. The object of these posts was to prevent their future advance unless they fought it out. It was difficult for us to have a major armed conflict with them there, because they had great advantages. Their roads came right up there. They could bring all kinds of weapons, even tanks, from Tibet which is near and which is relatively a flat country, while for us, although we made some progress, it was very difficult. The recently-made road was not even there at that time. It meant months of effort to get there. Nevertheless, we put up those posts to check their advance and

they did check their advance. In fact, we pushed them back a little. In the NEFA area, we had previously put up our posts at the border or just under it, because one cannot have a high-ridge post. Even in Thag La pass, our post was two or three miles on this side, but not on the pass itself.

Now, if we accept their proposals, which seem so innocuous, they would retire, according to them, up to the McMahon Line. But then they add that their idea of the McMahon Line is different from ours; it is on this side of the ridge. And we should have to retire another 20 kilometres from where we are today—that is, leaving about 40 kilometres of territory not occupied either by their armies or ours. That is to say, they would have a fixed base on this side of the Thag La pass, and an open territory which they could walk across any moment they liked. This is impossible for us to agree to. And in Ladakh it means our withdrawing still further from where we are, and facilitating their advance in future if they want to come. Therefore, we have rejected those proposals.

We have said there should be a reversion to the 8th September line both in NEFA and in Ladakh. That means in NEFA not only their going back but our going forward to the posts that we held, with no vacant space left, and in Ladakh our going back a good way.

Some people say, "How can you do that? You must not negotiate. You must not have any talk with them till you have completely pushed them out from the Indian territory." But one does not have to talk with anybody whom one has defeated completely and pushed out. If we have gained our objective without talks, the question of talks does not arise. I would suggest to the House to remember that in these matters one has to take a strong view, but a realistic view. The suggestion that we have made has been rejected by them, because it strengthens us and weakens them. What is more, the suggestion we have made about the 8th September line is one which has been appreciated in a great part of the world—non-aligned countries and others—because merely saying that we shall not talk to them till they have confessed defeat is not the kind of suggestion that any country makes to another.

I hope that the House will realize that what we have suggested is a right suggestion and will support it fully.

Some Members talked about going to liberate Tibet. It is really amazing to see that some Members, and others outside, say that we should declare that we would liberate Tibet. It would be a very happy idea if it is liberated. But our undertaking that job at the present moment or at any moment seems to me extraordinary and fantastic and having no relation to reality.

I have said that in a war between India and China it is patent that you cannot think in terms of victory and defeat. There might be battles and we might push them back, as we hope to, but if either country thinks in terms of bringing the other to its knees, it manifestly cannot and will not happen. Let us be realistic. Are we going to march to Peking? A war like this cannot be ended, as far as I can foresee, by surrender by either party. These are two great countries and neither will surrender. Therefore, some way out has to be found to finish the war in terms honourable to us. We have said that we will finish the war when we liberate our own territory which is in their possession. Our saying that we are going to liberate Tibet is a thing which we cannot do; even if we had the atom bomb, we could not do it. It is manifestly absurd to talk about it, and it would justify everything that China has said about us.

They have always been saying that their chief grouse against us is that we have been encouraging a revolt and rebellion in Tibet. That is what ultimately turned them against us. If we talk of liberating Tibet, it will justify their argument, which had no foundation, and give them considerable strength in international circles. It will mean our saying something which we cannot possibly, feasibly do. We have got a big enough task, a tremendous task, to push them back from our country into their own territory. We are going to do it. It is going to be mighty difficult; it might take us a long time. I hope that while we should be strong and determined, as we must be, we should not, just for the sake of appearing braver than others, say things which are manifestly nonsense.



## WE STAND BY OUR PLEDGE

ABOUT A MONTH ago, on the 8th November. I placed a resolution before the House on the proclamation of emergency resulting from the aggression and invasion by China. This was followed by another resolution dealing with this aggression and invasion. This resolution was passed on 14th November not only unanimously but in an unusual manner by all Members standing and pledging themselves to what it contained. By that pledge we stand.

Two or three days later, the Chinese forces mounted a massive attack on our position at the Sela pass and at Walong. This resulted on the 18th November in our forces having to withdraw from Sela and Walong and, somewhat later, from Bomdila.

On the 21st November, the Chinese Government issued a statement making a unilateral announcement of cease-fire as from the midnight of the 21st-22nd November and a withdrawal of their forces from the 1st December. On the 23rd, we asked for some clarifications and received a reply on the 26th November. On the 30th we sought further clarifications.

On the 22nd November, the Government of Ceylon announced that they had called a conference of six non-aligned countries in Colombo. The date for this was subsequently changed and it is due to begin or rather has begun in Colombo today.

On the 28th November, a letter was received from Premier Chou En-lai urging the Prime Minister of India to give a positive response, that is, to accept the Chinese offer of cease-fire and withdrawal with all the other provisions contained in it. I replied to this on the 1st December.

These letters have been given in full, together with some maps, in the pamphlet issued by the External Affairs Ministry entitled *Chinese Aggression in War and Peace*.

The cease-fire took effect as stated, though there were a number of breaches of it on the Chinese side in the first few days. It is not yet quite clear how far the withdrawals

of the Chinese forces have been effected. To some extent, withdrawal has been made, but considerable Chinese forces are apparently still in some forward positions.

On the 5th December, the Chinese Red Cross handed over 64 wounded and sick prisoners of war to the Indian Red Cross Society in Bomdila. They have stated that they will hand over more such wounded prisoners within the next few days.

Soon after the Chinese attack on the 20th October, a three-point proposal was made by the Chinese suggesting a cease-fire and a withdrawal of their forces provided India agreed to the proposal. On the 27th October, we stated that we were unable to accept the proposal and that our proposal of the restoration of the *status quo* prior to 8th September was a simple and straightforward one. This was the only way of undoing at least part of the great damage done by the latest Chinese aggression.

The Chinese proposal made on the 21st November for cease-fire and withdrawal was a repetition of their proposal of the 24th October, with the addition of a unilateral declaration of cease-fire and withdrawal.

I wrote to Premier Chou En-lai on the 1st December indicating that the three-point proposal made by the Chinese violated the principles which the Chinese had themselves been advocating in their documents and correspondence. We could not compromise with aggression nor could we permit the aggressor to retain the position which he had acquired by force by the aggression since the 8th September, 1962, as this would mean not only letting him have what he wanted but exposing our country to further inroads and demands in the future. No direct answer to this letter has been received from Premier Chou En-lai. But the Peking Radio has broadcast yesterday a long statement rejecting our proposal about the restoration of the *status quo* prior to the 8th September. There was a further broadcast later yesterday which stated that our Charge d'Affaires in Peking had been given a Note asking the Government of India three questions. These questions are:

- “1. Does the Indian Government agree or does it not agree to a cease-fire?”.

- “2. Does the Indian Government agree or does it not agree that the Armed Forces of the two sides should disengage and withdraw 20 kilometres each from the 7th November, 1959, line of actual control?”, and
- “3. Does the Indian Government agree or does it not agree that the officials of the two sides should meet and discuss matters relating to the withdrawal of the Armed Forces of each party to form a demilitarized zone, establishment of check-posts as well as the return of captured personnel?”

Before I answer these questions, I should like to remind the House of the past history of these incursions and aggressions. Before the 8th September, 1962, there was no active aggression on the NEFA frontier by the Chinese except in regard to the small frontier village of Longju. Not only was there no further aggression but in the past repeated assurances were given by the Chinese that the McMahon Line would not be crossed and that, although they considered this line an illegal one and imposed by the then British authorities, they would acknowledge it, as indeed they acknowledged the continuation of the line in Burma.

Thus the aggression across this line near the Thag La pass on the 8th September, 1962, not only was at variance with these assurances, but constituted a major crossing of the frontier for the first time in history. This was a clear case of imperialist aggression and expansion. The Chinese forces continued to cross the frontier in large numbers, and on the 20th October, they delivered massive attacks on the Indian positions and overpowered them by superior numbers. A well-organized and well-prepared invasion on a big scale had been mounted by China. On the same day, a similar invasion took place in the western sector in Ladakh.

Since our independence, we have tried to develop the area of NEFA and built schools, roads, hospitals, etc. there. Suddenly the Chinese break through our frontier and deliver massive attacks. Is this the way of peaceful negotiation and settlement by peaceful methods? I repeat that this well-prepared invasion is at variance with the Chinese profession and can only be described as blatantly imperialist expansionism

and aggression. We stated that we could not proceed with any talks with them until at least this latest aggression was vacated and the *status quo* prior to the 8th September, 1962, was restored both in NEFA and in Ladakh. That is the position we have consistently held during the last few months.

Anxious for peace, we suggested this minimum condition which might lead to a peaceful approach. They have rejected our proposal. The result is that at present there is no meeting ground between us. We have repeatedly laid stress on considering this matter by peaceful methods, but it is not possible to do so when aggression continues and we are asked to accept it as a fact.

As for the three questions which have been asked on behalf of the Chinese Government, the first one is, whether we agree or do not agree to a cease-fire. The declaration by the Government of China was a unilateral one. But in so far as the cease-fire was concerned, we accepted it and nothing has been done on our behalf to impede the implementation of the cease-fire declaration.

The second question is, whether we agree or do not agree that the armed forces of the two sides should disengage and withdraw 20 kilometres each from the 7th November, 1959, line of actual control. We are in favour of the disengagement of the forces of the two sides on the basis of a commonly agreed arrangement. But such an arrangement can only be on the basis of undoing the further aggression committed by the Government of China on Indian territory since the 8th September, 1962. If the Government of China disputes that this was Indian territory, that is a matter for juridical or like decision. The fact is that it had long been in Indian occupation, and this cannot be disputed. The Government of India have given their understanding of the so-called line of actual control of the 7th November, 1959. They do not agree with the Chinese interpretation which is not in accordance with actual facts. It should be easy to determine the facts even from the correspondence between the two Governments during the last five years. The Government of China cannot expect us to agree to the so-called line of actual control of the 7th November, 1959, which is manifestly not in accordance with the facts.

What we had suggested is a simple and straightforward proposal of restoration of the *status quo* prior to the 8th September, 1962, when further aggression began. This is clearly factual and is based on the definite principle that the aggression must be undone before an agreement for a peaceful consideration can be arrived at.

The third question is, whether the Indian Government agrees or does not agree that the officials of the two sides should meet and discuss matters relating to the withdrawal of the Armed Forces of each party to form a demilitarized zone, etc. It is obvious that if the officials are to meet they must have clear and precise instructions as to the cease-fire and withdrawal arrangements which they are supposed to implement. Unless they receive these instructions, which must be the result of an agreement between the Governments of India and China, they will be unable to function. Therefore, it has to be determined previously which line is to be implemented. Between the line of actual control immediately prior to the 8th September, 1962, and that on the 7th November, 1959, as defined by China, there is a difference of about 2,500 sq. miles of Indian territory which China occupied as a result of invasion and massive attacks during the last three months. The Chinese Government by defining the line in its own way wants to retain the advantages secured by the latest invasion.

Any person who studies the painful history of the last few years, more particularly of the recent months, will come to the conclusion that Chinese interpretation of various lines changes with circumstances and that they accept the line which is more advantageous to them. Sometimes they accept part of a line and not the rest of it which is disadvantageous to them. The major facts are quite clear and, apart from any claims that the Chinese may have, it is on these facts that any temporary arrangement can be made and not on the changing lines which the Chinese put forward as the lines of actual control.

There has been an amazing cynicism and duplicity on the Chinese side. They come to a place where they have never been at any time in history. And they preach against imperialism

and act themselves in the old imperialist and expansionist way. Altogether their policy seems to be one of unabashed chauvinism. It is curious that acting in self-defence they have occupied another 20,000 square miles of Indian territory. The whole thing is manifestly and outrageously improper and wrong, and involves utter misuse of words. It is a little difficult to deal with persons who indulge in double talk. I regret to say that I have been forced to the conclusion that the word of the Chinese Government cannot be relied upon.

The imperialist and expansionist challenge of China is not only a challenge to us but to the world, as it is a flagrant violation of international law and practice. If this aggression is tolerated and acquiesced in today, it will continue to be a threat not only to India but also to other countries in Asia and will be a bad precedent for the world. What China has done is an insult to the conscience of the world. We still hope that our peaceful and reasonable approaches will be agreed to. Once the preliminary conditions which we have suggested are met, we can consider further the peaceful methods which should be used for solving the basic disputes. I am prepared, when the time comes, provided there is approval of Parliament, even to refer the basic dispute of the claims on the frontier to a body like the International Court of Justice at The Hague. But that also can come only when the aggression is vacated and the position as it was before the 8th September is restored.

The Colombo Conference which is meeting today is considering what recommendations—honourable to both sides—they might make in order to resolve the differences between India and China. We recognize their friendly feelings and their well-meant attempts to solve or at any rate to lessen this crisis. I trust, however, that they will appreciate that there can be no compromise with aggression and an expanding imperialism and that the gains of aggression must be given up before both the parties try to resolve their disputes.

## COLOMBO CONFERENCE PROPOSALS

PARLIAMENT DISCUSSED THE question of Chinese aggression on the 10th December, 1962, and expressed approval of the measures and policies adopted by the Government to meet the situation resulting from the invasion of India by China. Since then a number of events have taken place.

On the 17th December, Mr. G. S. Peiris, envoy of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, brought the Colombo Conference proposals to New Delhi and handed them over to the Prime Minister.

When we met last time on the 10th December, the Colombo Conference was on the point of meeting or was meeting that very day. It was to have met on the 1st December, but the meeting was postponed. It met on the 10th, 11th and 12th or thereabouts.

The Colombo Conference put forward its proposals. Some representatives went to Peking, and later came to Delhi. The proposals as originally framed were not clear with regard to one or two matters and were liable to different interpretations. Therefore, the first thing which we did when the representatives came here was to ask them to clarify their proposals and to make us understand exactly what they were in order to avoid any misinterpretation or different interpretations.

The issue before us was how far these proposals were in conformity with what we had said repeatedly, namely that the position prior to the 8th September be restored. It must also be remembered that it was stated all along that any response that we or the Government of China may give to the Colombo Conference proposals or any steps we may take in regard to these proposals would not prejudice in the slightest the position of either of the two Governments as regards their conception of the final alignment of the frontier. There is no question of our going behind or varying in the slightest the resolution passed by this House in November.

The merits of the dispute were not considered by the Colombo countries. The Conference was designed only to pave

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Statement in Lok Sabha while moving for consideration of the Colombo Conference proposals, January 23, 1963

the way for discussion between the representatives of both the parties.

These proposals as explained and amplified by the representatives of the Colombo Conference in answer to our questions related to the three sectors, the western, middle and eastern, of our border.

In regard to the eastern sector, the position prior to the 8th September was that the Chinese forces were to the north of the international boundary called the McMahon Line and the Indian forces were to the south of this boundary. Before the 8th September no Chinese forces had come across that boundary except in Longju. In regard to this, the position that was taken was that for the present neither party should occupy it. The Chinese forcibly occupied it previously and later it was suggested that neither party should occupy it. The Colombo Conference proposals, as clarified by the visiting delegations, confirm this position except as regards the Thag La ridge area, which the Chinese call Chedong area, where we have a border post known as the Dhola post. The Colombo proposals and the clarifications refer to these areas, Thag La ridge and Longju, as remaining areas arrangements in regard to which are to be settled between the Governments of India and China by direct discussion. That is to say, in regard to the eastern sector, the 8th September position was, according to the Colombo Conference proposals, entirely restored except in regard to Thag La ridge area and the Dhola post. These are within three miles of the McMahon Line. The Colombo proposals stated that this matter might be left undecided. They left it to the parties to decide by direct discussion.

With regard to the middle sector, the Colombo Conference proposals required the *status quo* to be maintained with neither side doing anything to disturb the *status quo*. This conforms to the Government of India's position that the *status quo* prior to the 8th September, 1962 should be restored as there has been no conflict in this area and the existing situation has not been disturbed.

Coming to the western sector of Ladakh, the restoration of the *status quo* as it obtained prior to the 8th September



would result in re-establishment of all the Indian posts shown in blue in the map circulated to Members. This would also mean that the Chinese will maintain the old Chinese posts at the locations shown in red in the same map. The Colombo Conference proposes that a 20-kilometre area will be cleared by the withdrawal of Chinese forces, and this area is to be administered by civilian posts of both sides, Indian and Chinese. The House will observe that this area, which is to be administered by civilian posts on both sides, covers the entire area in which Indian posts existed prior to the 8th September except for two or three posts to the west of Sumdo. On the other hand, the 20 kilometre withdrawal by the Chinese forces entails the Chinese forces going several kilometres beyond the international boundary in the region of Spanggur and further south. The Colombo Conference proposals and the clarifications thus satisfy the demand made for the restoration of the *status quo* prior to the 8th September. The slight variation is about two or three Indian posts west of Sumdo. This is, however, compensated by Chinese withdrawals in the region of Spanggur and further south, and also by the fact that many Chinese military posts have to be removed from the withdrawal areas. If hon. Members consider this matter with the help of maps, they will observe that this position, as indicated by the Colombo Conference proposals, has certain advantages over the one which we had previously indicated, that is, the restoration of the 8th September position. In the 8th September position the Chinese were there in very large strength and we had also some posts in that area. If the Colombo Conference proposal in regard to the western sector is accepted, it removes the Chinese strength from that sector and makes that sector a demilitarized area, with our posts as well as Chinese posts by agreement being civilian posts, in equal number with equal number of people and similarity of arms. It would be civil arms, police arms or small arms. I think this is definitely better than the restoration of Chinese posts in that area in a big way with large arms.

On full consideration of these matters as contained in the Colombo Conference resolutions and their clarifications we came to the conclusion that these proposals fulfilled the

essence of the demand made for a restoration of the *status quo* prior to the 8th September. Thereupon I sent a letter to the Ceylon Prime Minister stating that the Government of India accepted in principle the Colombo Conference proposals in the light of the clarifications given and would take further action to place them before the Indian Parliament for consideration before the Government of India could finally accept them.

I had told the Ceylon Prime Minister and her colleagues that we would like to know the attitude of the Government of China to the Colombo Conference proposals and clarifications as this would facilitate the consideration of the proposals and the clarifications by our own Parliament. I have this morning received a message from the Ceylon Prime Minister conveying the Chinese attitude to the Colombo Conference proposals. The telegram from Mrs. Bandaranaike reads as follows:

"In response to my telegram of the 14th January I have received today a reply from Prime Minister Chou En-lai. Prime Minister Chou En-lai has reiterated his earlier acceptance in principle of proposals of Colombo Conference as a preliminary basis for the meeting of Indian and Chinese officials to discuss the stabilization of cease-fire and disengagement and to promote Sino-Indian boundary negotiations.

"The Chinese Government, however, maintain two points of interpretation in their memorandum that I handed over to you but they hope that differences in interpretation between the Chinese and Indian sides will not prevent the speedy holding of talks between the Indian and Chinese officials. They hope these differences will be resolved in their talks."

Perhaps hon. Members may have seen yesterday the report of what was stated by the Chinese Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi, more or less to this effect. While they repeat that they have accepted the Colombo Conference proposals in principle, they raise some vital matters in which they differ from them. It is obvious that the Chinese Government do not accept the Colombo Conference proposals as a definite basis

providing conditions for the acceptance of both parties, nor do they accept the Colombo proposals and the clarifications given by the three Colombo Conference delegations who visited Delhi. The Chinese Government maintain certain points of their own interpretation of the Colombo proposals. This obviously means that they have not accepted the Colombo proposals as a whole. We on our part, however, are clear that there can be no talks and discussions between officials as stated in the Colombo Conference proposals to settle the points left for decision by direct discussions between the Governments of India and China by the Colombo Conference, unless the Government of China accept *in toto* the Colombo proposals and their clarifications.

The Colombo Conference was held not at our instance. The Conference was organized and people were invited without any reference to us except when this fact was decided upon. The Ceylon Government was then good enough to inform us that this was being done by the Prime Minister of Ceylon. Thereafter we have communicated with the Ceylon Government, and not with the Chinese Government, in regard to these matters. Throughout this period we have not conferred with the Chinese Government in regard to the Colombo proposals. It is for the Chinese Government to communicate with Colombo and for Colombo to tell us, or for us to communicate to the Ceylon Government and for them to tell the Chinese. It is fairly clear from what Marshal Chen Yi has said and from the message received by us through the Prime Minister of Ceylon that the Chinese Government have not accepted the Colombo proposals in regard to certain important matters. Therefore, there has not been any acceptance of the proposals *in toto*. The Government of India, therefore, cannot decide about doing anything unless the position is quite clear. But we have to say something definite in regard to the Colombo proposals. Whether they lead to any further steps in the direction of talks with the Chinese Government depends upon the Chinese Government accepting them.

In spite of the massive Chinese aggression the Government of India were prepared to undertake talks and discussions in

regard to the differences between India and China in one or several stages as may be necessary. I even mentioned in the House previously that we would be perfectly prepared to refer the matter to the International Court of Justice or to arbitration if it was agreed to. We have always been willing to take to peaceful methods for the solution of any dispute provided the conditions for talks are created. We had pointed out repeatedly that the conditions would be created by the Chinese vacating the new aggression which they had indulged in since the 8th September. When we made that proposal first in October, the Chinese Government did not respond to it. Subsequently they added to their own proposal the fact of their unilateral withdrawal and a cease-fire. The Colombo Conference powers have now put forward their own proposals which essentially bring about the restoration of the *status quo* prior to the 8th September. We communicated our acceptance in principle of these proposals and their clarifications to the Ceylon Prime Minister without any attempt to vary them. These proposals have either to be accepted as a whole or rejected. Any attempt to accept them in part will mean a rejection of them as a whole. We feel, therefore, that both the Governments concerned must express their willingness to accept these proposals and clarifications *in toto* before the next stage of settling the remaining issues left for decision by the two Governments can be taken up in direct talks and discussions. That is the position we have taken up and I submit to the House that that would be the correct position.

To put it succinctly, the position before us is that, firstly, we cannot have even preliminary talks, unless we are satisfied that the condition which we had laid down about the 8th September, 1962 position being restored is met; secondly, even if it is met and even if talks take place, they have to be about various preliminary matters. They may lead to other matters. On no account, at the present moment or in the talks about these preliminary matters, do we consider the merits of the case. They are not changed. When we asked for the restoration of the 8th September line, that had nothing to do with our accepting that line as a settlement.

I submit that we have to consider the present question.

which may have far-reaching results, in keeping fully with the resolution which we passed in November. We are determined to carry it out, however long it may take and however it may end, realizing that anything that happens in between will be governed by that resolution. Therefore, the present question before us is to be viewed in that context, first of all, our firm determination to carry out what we have said in our November resolution; and pursuit of peaceful methods where they do not come in the way of our firm determination, our integrity and freedom and in the way of anything that is honourable to India.

Our objective is to preserve our freedom and integrity. If there are any aggressors, as there are today, we push them out of India. Therefore, we have taken steps, and we are taking steps, to strengthen our Defence Forces, and to strengthen our economic position. We shall continue to strengthen them, because we find it very very difficult to believe in the *bona fides* of the Chinese Government. We shall never submit to coercion and military pressures, and yet we cannot rule out peaceful methods of approach, and that is right not in the moral sense only but in the diplomatic and political sense. Therefore, we have to consider any approach at the present moment by countries which are friends of ours, and we have to give it every consideration. It would be bad from the point of view of both our policy and diplomatic approach to this problem for us to treat the proposals of these friendly countries without due consideration.

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THE PRESENT ISSUE before us has a considerable background of history. In dealing with it, we have not only to consider this background, but the future as it might take shape. That future is of great concern to us in India. It has relevance to Asia and the world, as any conflict between India and China must necessarily have. We cannot think in static terms in a

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From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on the Colombo Conference proposals, January 25, 1963

rapidly changing world. We have followed a policy of non-alignment and I believe in it fully. I hope we shall continue to follow it. But even the old concept of non-alignment is slowly undergoing a change. On the one side, the Soviet Union and China are beginning to fall out. On the other side, there is some attempt at a closer approach between the United States and the Soviet Union. We cannot, at this stage, say much about it, but it does hold out some hope.

Our policy of non-alignment has won favour in the world not only among the "non-aligned" countries and the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia but even among the major aligned countries like the United States and the Soviet Union who have come to see some virtue in it and want it to be continued. It has surprised me, therefore, that just at this moment of our success in this policy, some people in India should doubt its worth.

We believe, and many other countries agree, that China as constituted today is an aggressive, expansionist country, possibly with vast designs for the future. It believes in the inevitability of major wars. Thus, essentially it does not believe in peaceful co-existence between countries and it does not believe in the Five Principles of Panchsheel. When most other countries have come to the conclusion that peaceful co-existence is essential and war is no longer a desirable or a possible way of settling disputes between nations, China stands apart and follows a policy which is peculiar to her. China is a great nation with a great past. A great nation pursuing such aggressive policies necessarily becomes a danger and a menace to the other countries and to the world. It has been our misfortune that we have been victims of this aggression, but that very aggression has made not only us but other countries also realize the nature of the problem which faces the world. I believe that even the Government of China has realized the danger of the course which it follows. Possibly also it has realized the wrong it has done to India and to itself by following this course.

The Prime Minister of Ceylon took the initiative in regard to the Sino-Indian conflict towards the third week of November. We, in a sense, welcomed her initiative. The

Colombo Conference passed some resolutions, copies of which were given to us. They made it clear that they wanted us to keep the resolutions confidential till a later stage when their representatives came to us. Some days later, the Prime Minister of Ceylon with some of her colleagues went to Peking to discuss these resolutions and later she came here. She was accompanied by the representatives of two other countries, the Prime Minister of the United Arab Republic and the Minister of Justice of Ghana. We asked them some questions, and they gave us their explanations and amplifications in writing, to be precise. We considered the original Colombo resolutions with their amplifications, and we came to the conclusion that they fulfilled the essence of what we had asked for when we had put forward the proposal of the 8th September line. Thereafter we told them as a Government that we accepted the proposals in principle but that we would like to put them up before Parliament before giving our final reply.

When the representatives of the Colombo powers came here, they told us that the Government of China had given what is called a positive response to these proposals. Subsequently it appeared that the so-called positive response was limited and restricted in various important ways. It appeared that it was not complete acceptance of the proposals as they were and as they were amplified by the representatives of the Colombo powers to us. Our acceptance in principle of these proposals meant our acceptance in principle, naturally, of these proposals as interpreted and amplified by them. We did not ask them to change the proposals or to alter them even though we might have wanted to do that; we wanted to keep them as a whole.

I do submit that these proposals, not only in substance but essentially, carry out the main object of the 8th September proposal which we had made. It is true that the Colombo Conference approach to this was slightly different, but they arrived at something which was essentially the restoration of the 8th September line. In some small matters it did not yield that result, for instance, in the Ladakh area.

In the middle sector nothing has happened and is happening because the old position prior to the 8th September

has remained and, according to these proposals, will continue to remain till it is changed.

In NEFA the Chinese have retired or are supposed to retire completely. In NEFA, according to the Colombo proposals, we are supposed to go all over except in two points which have been reserved for further discussion. According to the 8th September line, Longju is not affected. Dhola is affected, undoubtedly. The present position is that the Chinese have withdrawn throughout NEFA, except in a small area near the Thag La ridge which has not been decided yet and which is to be discussed by us further. We have been assured by the Colombo powers that we can occupy all these territories.

Coming to Ladakh, which perhaps has been exercising hon. Members' minds most, the Chinese advance in the area was, by and large, much less than 20 kilometres. Generally it was about 10, 12 or eight kilometres. In one or two places, specially in the south, it was probably a little more than 20 kilometres. Anyhow, what we have to consider was how far the Colombo proposals fitted in with the 8th September line, to which we were committed. The 8th September line, if it is reproduced completely, would mean that all our posts and all the Chinese posts in that area would remain. Our posts had, of course, been liquidated by this aggressive action. So that it meant our going back to those posts and the Chinese keeping their 40 posts or so in that area and keeping them in a very dominant position which was disadvantageous to us. The proposals which have been made by the Colombo powers are that all these strong posts of the Chinese, which counted very much against us, should be withdrawn and that there should be some civil posts of the Chinese and some civil posts of ours in that area. There is no question of dual posts or dual partnership; they will be separate posts by agreement. The question involved is their withdrawal, and how much withdrawal for the purpose of facilitating some other steps which we might take. I do submit to this House that the Colombo proposal in regard to the Ladakh area is definitely better from any point of view. It does not mean any kind of a division or acceptance of any division directly or indirectly. It is a temporary arrangement which, if it is not agreed to,



would simply mean that they could remain in control there till other developments take place.

The practice is for the Government to keep Parliament informed fully. It is not necessary for the Government to come and take a vote on every step which it takes. The Government can take steps if they are in line with the general policy outlined. In this matter, our general policy has been brought before the House and has been approved by the House repeatedly. Therefore, if a particular step is in line with that policy, the Government takes that step. I need not, by any constitutional convention, have brought this matter up necessarily in the House. So far as Parliament is concerned, it has given its approval to the 8th September line being a matter of policy. Then comes the question of interpretation as to how far the 8th September line has been carried out by the Colombo proposals. That is the sole question which we have to consider as a Government and we have told the Colombo powers that we accept these proposals in principle.

I have to send a precise answer to the Colombo powers and to the Prime Minister of Ceylon today or tomorrow as to where we stand. Whether the proposals will come into effect or not depends on the other party accepting them. For the moment, they have not accepted them. It is the Government's intention to convey a final answer on this matter to the Prime Minister of Ceylon, approving *in toto* of the Colombo proposals as amplified and explained by them. That is the position on which I propose to act, and I cannot act if the House does not approve of it.

Some people imagine that because of these Colombo proposals being accepted or acted upon we shall slow down or slacken. That would be utterly wrong. That is certainly not the view of the Government or, I take it, of anybody in this House. We must prepare and strengthen ourselves.

I shall mention one or two of the Chinese objections to the Colombo proposals. One is that they do not want us to put up any kind of military or civil posts in the Ladakh area, in that corridor as it is called. And China wants to put up her own posts there, civilian posts, not military posts. They object to what is called dual control. That is a major point

of difference between China and the Colombo powers. Certainly we cannot accept the Chinese approach. The second objection relates to what they call the Chedong ridge which we call the Thag La ridge in NEFA.

These are two major matters. There may be some others. Prepared as we are to accept the Colombo proposals in their totality with the explanations, we are not prepared to have any amendments or changes or variations made in them because the Chinese do not like them.

The Colombo powers are not supposed to enforce any decision. They can only proceed as mediators.

The question is how to bring about the Chinese withdrawal to a certain extent in order to be able to deal with this matter in a manner which may lead to results. The fact that a course of action may not lead to results should not deter us from pursuing it, provided it does not do any harm or injury. I think from both the political and the diplomatic points of view this is desirable. Our rejecting the Colombo proposals would be harmful to us, diplomatically and from every point of view. Not only the countries which have made these proposals, but other countries, big and small, will think that we are acting wrongly and will not continue the support they have given us. We are grateful for their support, and we want their support. We want all the help which we can get and we are grateful to those who give it. We must not take all the time a belligerent attitude. A belligerent attitude is usually taken by weak nations, and not by strong nations.

Therefore, I submit that the attitude which the Government has taken and intends to take in this matter is correct and I am sure that the House will give its support to it.

## DANGER OF RENEWED AGGRESSION

ON THE 1ST MARCH, the Ministry of National Defence of the People's Government of China issued a statement that their troops had withdrawn along the entire India-China border on China's own initiative and that the withdrawal had been completed by the end of February 1963. The withdrawal was to points 20 kilometres beyond what the Chinese claimed as the line of actual control. The statement added that the Chinese forces were "now far behind their positions on September 8, 1962".

On the 3rd March, I received a message from Prime Minister Chou En-lai referring to this unilateral action by the Chinese Government and stating, "In order to promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations, the Chinese Government has done all that is possible for it to do. . . . Therefore, I do not think there should be any more reason to delay the holding of talks between Chinese and Indian officials." I sent a reply to Prime Minister Chou En-lai on the 5th March in which I pointed out that "the obvious thing, if the Government of China are sincere in their professions regarding peaceful settlement, is to accept the Colombo Conference proposals without reservations just as the Government of India have done. We can go to the second stage of talks and discussions only thereafter".

Since these exchanges took place, certain other developments have occurred. One was the signing of the Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement in Peking on the 2nd March. During the last fortnight we received several Notes from the Government of China. Despite their peaceful professions, the Government of China chose to use sharp and provocative language in these Notes, one or two of them being actually scurrilous in tone. We have replied to these Notes and contradicted the false allegations made.

We have also received reliable information of additional induction of troops into Tibet, of projects of further road construction along our borders and of the requisition of Tibetan

villagers, pack animals, etc., by Chinese armed forces in Tibetan areas to the north of our border. Though the Chinese forces have withdrawn 20 kilometres from what they call the line of actual control, their concentration beyond this narrow strip continues unchanged.

There are other factors of recent development which make it difficult to believe in repeated Chinese professions of their desire for peaceful settlement. The Chinese Government have so far declined to accept the Colombo proposals. The statement by the Ministry of National Defence of China of the 1st March, referred to earlier, ends up with a warning that "Although the Chinese Frontier Guards have withdrawn from the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959, we have not given up our right to self-defence." This reference to "self-defence" in the context of what happened in October and November 1962, coupled with Marshal Chen Yi's statement in a television interview to the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation that "judging from the present attitude of the Indian Government, provocative actions on the part of Indian troops will occur from time to time", may as well mean that the Chinese authorities are contemplating further aggressive action at a time of their own choosing.

We have, therefore, to be prepared to meet any eventuality that may arise. I hope, however, that the Government of China will, consistent with their peaceful professions, respond to the unanimous proposals made by the Colombo countries and accept the Colombo proposals without reservations as a first step towards the resolving of the India-China border differences by peaceful means.

## B. RELATIONS WITH NEPAL

### CLOSE CO-OPERATION

ON THIS AUSPICIOUS OCCASION I am reminded of my last visit to this city and this country eight or nine years ago when I came here for the first time at the invitation of your revered father.

Yours is a beautiful country and so is your city. But, whether I am in this country or in my country or anywhere else, my eyes are on the people. To look at their faces and into their eyes beaming with affection does not simply give me a sense of satisfaction and joy ; it creates a kind of relationship or bond between them and me. Coming to your country, I had yet another proof of such affection on the part of the people.

In spite of the danger of recurring wars, the world has always cherished the ideal of peace and progress. But two new factors have appeared in the world of today. One of them is that war has become so dangerous that once it is started it will destroy or nearly destroy the whole of the world, and all civilization and culture and the achievement of thousands of years of patient effort will come to an end. The other factor is that, for the first time in history, man has the power and means due to science and technology to eradicate almost all the wants and troubles of the world. It can now be said that nobody need live in poverty.

If we escape from this dangerous war, the problem before us is how to harness our strength for eradicating all wants, troubles and diseases of the people. This problem is before us in India, before you in Nepal, and before several other countries. For the countries of Asia and Africa the problem of eradicating poverty and providing for a better life for the people is the problem of primary importance.

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From speech at banquet held in his honour by Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal, Kathmandu, June 11, 1959

In this sense, the problems which are before your country and mine are basically the same. India and Nepal are closely related by history and tradition. Obviously it is expected of us that we help each other and co-operate with each other to the extent we can; and the important thing is the feeling behind such co-operation. This does not mean that one accepts all that the other says. This is not the meaning of friendship between two countries. But it is necessary that our hearts should be clear, that we should look at each other with the eyes of love, and trust each other.

In the present-day world we try to make friends with other countries, if possible with all countries. But, naturally, our relations should be closer and our ties stronger with those countries which are our old friends, companions and neighbours. It is expected of us that in this difficult time your country and my country have to work hard, and be busy to achieve the objectives we have in view. But howsoever we may forget other aspects, we should remember that the activities of our two countries, like our borders, are joined together and they act and react on each other. We cannot forget this aspect, as well as our old relations which flow from this. This affinity has benefited both of us in the past and will benefit us in future also. Without doubt, we should have friendly relations with other countries as well, but we should not forget that forming the basis of all our present relations is an older relationship which we cannot renounce.

### **A TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP**

**A** PART FROM THE obvious responsibilities of defending India and Indian territory, our responsibilities undoubtedly extend to the neighbouring countries, Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal. We have to stand by them, whatever the consequences.

Nepal, of course, is an independent country just as India

is independent and whatever it chooses to do in the exercise of that independence, we cannot come in the way. If I mentioned Nepal on the last occasion, it was because over nine years ago, there was a clear understanding between the Governments of Nepal and India on this point. It was no military alliance. It was a clear understanding which has advantages for both. In order to remove any doubts from hon. Members' minds, I shall read out the words of that understanding. This treaty between India and Nepal, a treaty of peace and friendship, was signed on July 31, 1950. I shall read the first two articles.

Article 1 states

"That the two Governments agree to acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other."

Article 2 states

"That the two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring State likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations existing between the two Governments."

Now, apart from the treaty—but as an essential, operative part of that—there was an exchange of letters between the two Governments in identical language, as is the custom. In these letters there is this sentence:

"Neither Government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor. To deal with any such threat, the two Governments shall consult with each other and devise effective counter-measures."

This was the clear understanding arrived at and, therefore, I thought it desirable to state it. In fact, I was a little surprised that people did not know this. The words may not have been known but the position itself is pretty well known. I want to make it perfectly clear that this understanding has nothing to do with any kind of unilateral action on our part. We cannot do it; we will not do it. It is for the Government of Nepal to decide but it is in mutual interest—as stated in these letters and the treaty—for us to associate ourselves, first of all in knowledge as to what is happening and, secondly, in the

counter-measures that might have to be taken. The Prime Minister of Nepal said something the other day on this subject and may I say that I entirely agree with his interpretation of this position?

### THE KING'S PROCLAMATION

I WOULD LIKE TO SAY a few words about the recent event in Nepal which has exercised our minds. If such an event happened in any part of the world, it would be a matter of regret to us, but happening in a country on our threshold, with which we have such intimate relations, it has been a matter of great concern to us. We have not at any time sought to interfere in Nepal in the last ten years or so since it gained its freedom from the old regime. We have helped Nepal to the best of our ability. Even in the old days we had treaties with Nepal which were renewed. We had close bonds between us and were consulting each other when there was any danger from abroad. That represents the actual position in regard to the relationship between India and Nepal.

Apart from all these political and other aspects, our sympathies go out to any country which is trying to gain freedom, as Nepal was ten years ago, or which wants to advance in the democratic way. In regard to economic improvement, we have been trying to help Nepal to the best of our ability. We have got an Aid Mission there now. We helped Nepal also in training its Army. We sent there a Military Mission which, I believe, did a lot of very good work. We have built the big road connecting India with Kathmandu. Our interest in Nepal is inevitable.

When the news of the Proclamation of the King reached us, it was not in a sense a surprise. Nevertheless, it did come as a bit of a shock just at that time. It was not a surprise in the sense that we had been conscious of the different pulls



there and the possibility of something happening. The King and the Government were not working very harmoniously for months past, and yet, curiously enough, the latest reports as they came to us before this action of the King were that the Ministry and the King were working more harmoniously than before. I am not referring to our Ambassador's report, but to what the King himself had in the course of conversations and by his behaviour led people to believe.

The Proclamation made by the King refers to the failure of the Nepal Government and the Ministry to improve the administration and accuses them of corruption, crude economic theories and the rest. These are vague charges and it is difficult to say anything about vague charges. Nobody can call any government an ideal government, more especially a government in Nepal which has been facing very difficult conditions in the last ten years when various governments came in.

May I say that right from the first day ten years ago when there was an upheaval against the old Rana regime, the previous King made it clear that he was working for, and he wanted to establish, a democratic system of government. Difficulties came in; Governments were formed and dismissed, and there were fairly long periods of King's rule without any other government. Even then it was made clear that that was a preparation or an interval before going back to democracy and we were happy when the present King announced a constitution and later followed it up with elections. In the elections, the Nepal Congress Party got a very big majority and they have functioned since then. It is not for me to judge their functioning but it is fairly easy to find faults. They had a tremendous task and, I believe, the impression we had generally was that for the first time Nepal had some orderly government which was trying to do its best to improve things. Whether they succeeded much or not is another matter.

I do not know what reasons lay behind what the King has said in his Proclamation, because the charges are vague. There is reference, as I said, to crude economic theories. The only economic step that they were trying to take, so far as I know, was in regard to land. Land in Nepal in the past had been held by a very few people, and I believe that they hardly paid

any taxes on it. It was free there, *birta* land. The new step was an attempt to have somewhat better, and what I consider very moderate, land laws or a taxation system on land. I do not know if this was the position. They proposed a Bill or they passed it in Parliament, but it has been for a long time past with the King awaiting his approval. I do not know whether this kind of economic advance was considered by the King as a crude method of dealing with these problems. Anyhow, the basic fact remains that this is not a question of pushing out a Government which has a big majority. This is a complete reversal of the democratic process, and it is not clear to me that there can be a going back to the democratic process in the foreseeable future. Naturally one views such a development with considerable regret.

### A POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE

**Q**UESTION: SIR, THE Nepalese Ambassador in London keeps saying that India is not doing enough to stop the Nepalese who are in India from attacking the Nepalese Government. Have you any comments?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** I cannot carry on an argument with the Nepalese Ambassador through a press conference. But our attitude to Nepal has throughout been one of not wanting to interfere. During all these years we have been helping Nepal very considerably in her development and even now there are various major schemes of development in Nepal for which we are financially as well as technically responsible. These have not been affected.

There has been internal trouble in Nepal. It is none of our creation. If there is trouble there, we do not create it. The only difficulty is that a number of Nepalese ex-ministers and prominent personalities came away to India when the King dissolved Parliament and arrested the Prime Minister

and others. These people in India carry out some kind of a propaganda for the re-establishment of parliamentary institutions. We do not interfere so long as it is peaceful propaganda, because everybody has a right to express opinion peacefully. But we do object to India being made the base of any kind of operations against Nepal by these people.

We have a long border with Nepal. There have been free entry and communications through Nepal and India and there are no check-posts. It is very difficult to protect that long border. Our attitude is that we do not encourage gun-running between India and Nepal but they say we have encouraged it or acquiesced in it. We have not consciously done it, and in fact we have tried to arrest it. But it is very difficult to prevent individuals from coming and going across a long and unprotected border. Essentially it is an internal matter of Nepal.

### C. RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

#### BASIC FACTS TO REMEMBER

ON OCCASIONS YOU FIND that the outside world and even Pakistan forgets Kashmir for long stretches of time. On other occasions you will find the newspapers and leading personalities in Pakistan having Kashmir on their lips morning, noon and night, and shouting at the top of their voice. It is a kind of cyclical movement. During the past year or so, their propaganda has been at its highest pitch. I confess that it produced considerable effect on the minds of other countries last year. Why it did so is another matter: maybe because of the effectiveness of repeating falsehoods with great force again and again, or maybe because the minds of some countries have been conditioned that way from the beginning.

Hon. Members will remember that when this matter came

up before the Security Council last year, we had to face a very considerable opposition. It was an astonishing opposition, because it ignored some obvious, basic and patent facts. The kind of speeches delivered and arguments used by the representatives of great powers like the U.S.A., Britain and other countries who are supposed to know about this matter, were so far from truth, and from even a fair appraisal of the situation, that we were astonished. I have seldom come across anything so astounding as the attitude last year in the Security Council of some of these great powers. I do not mind their having their opinions, but I do expect them to face a question, consider all the basic factors, make inquiries and frame answers. But not a word of it. And they passed a resolution about the accession of Kashmir not taking place and nothing being done with regard to it on the 26th January, 1957. They were told repeatedly that the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India had taken place in October 1947, and nothing was happening in January 1957, except the winding up of the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir. They were told further that even though the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir drafted the Constitution, it had been finalized many months earlier. Nevertheless, they passed that resolution with all pomp and circumstance. Well, nothing happened on January 26. But representatives of some countries, their chanceries and newspapers started writing articles to the effect that India had flouted the Security Council and Kashmir had acceded to India on the 26th January, 1957.

They talk about a plebiscite. Again and again we have pointed out that in terms of the resolution passed by the United Nations Commission, the first thing to be done was for Pakistan to get out—because Pakistan is there by virtue of invasion and aggression, and this has been practically admitted—and until Pakistan goes out nothing else is going to be done. Instead of going out, Pakistan has entrenched itself. In the name, perhaps, of fighting communism, Pakistan has got enormous aid from the United States of America; and it may be getting it from the Baghdad Pact or SEATO. We have enough information in our possession to show that the military aid coming from the United States to Pakistan is very considerable, and

is a menace to India unless we deal with it. Because of this menace we have had to do something which has hurt us and given us a tremendous deal of pain, namely to spend more and more on armaments. The House knows that on the economic plane, especially in regard to foreign exchange, we are not very happily situated. Just at such a moment we have had to add to our burden of foreign exchange. But where the security of India is concerned, there can be no two decisions. I should like our friends concerned to realize how by some of their policies of military alliances and military aid, they have added to the burdens of India a feeling of insecurity and thereby come in the way of our working out our Five Year Plan and our developmental schemes. We are grateful for the financial help we have received from other countries, but it is an odd thing that while we are helped, other conditions are produced which wash out that help.

So far as Kashmir is concerned, let there be no doubt in people's minds as to what our position is. We have not repudiated any direction or decision of the Security Council to which we agreed. The Security Council passed two main resolutions, one in August 1948 and the other in January 1949. We accepted them; we stood by them and we stand by them, but they have to be interpreted in terms of today. The two things those resolutions laid down were that Pakistan had brought their Army into Kashmir and that it must withdraw from that territory. They have not done that. Their aggression, indeed their occupation, continues in Jammu and Kashmir. While that continues, we are asked repeatedly by some of the Western powers to make it up with Pakistan, agree to what Pakistan says or to agree to a plebiscite. Whatever may be the rights and wrongs in regard to some steps taken by us, I fail to understand how anybody in the wide world, including Pakistan, can justify the presence of Pakistani armies and civil personnel in Jammu and Kashmir territory. If they say, "Oh, we came here because Muslims are in a majority in Kashmir. The hearts of Muslims in Pakistan bled because Kashmir Muslims were suffering under foreign yoke and we came over to free them", then let that be put forward and no other argument. We shall answer that. The more I think of it, the more

surprising it becomes as to how the statesmen of the Western world cannot see the facts as they are.

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**I**N REGARD TO THE KASHMIR issue, there has recently been a report by Dr. Graham. Dr. Graham was here previously and all of us who have had the privilege of meeting him respect him. He is a man beaming goodwill and good intentions, and it is really a pleasure to meet such a man. When he came here again he was our honoured guest. Although we had informed the Security Council that we could not accept their resolution we told them that, nevertheless, if Dr. Graham came, he would be welcome. He came and had some talks with us. In his report he has given an outline of the nature of our talks.

I believe there are no two opinions in this House or in the country in regard to the Kashmir question. The trouble, according to us, in considering this matter has been that from the very beginning certain basic factors and basic aspects have not been considered by the Security Council, and because of that, the foundation of thinking and action has been unreal and artificial. When Mr. Jarring came here representing the Security Council—that was before Dr. Graham came—he presented a brief report. In that report, the House may remember, there was a recognition of certain factors, certain developments, certain facts of life which could not be ignored. He merely hinted at them; he did not go into the matter. Anyhow, that was the first glimmering that you saw of what the problem was today.

Dr. Graham has been good enough to put forward certain suggestions. One is that we should reiterate solemnly—"we" meaning India and Pakistan—what we had said previously and make a new declaration in favour of maintaining an atmosphere of peace. I am perfectly prepared to make it any number of times. However, we drew Dr. Graham's attention to the type of declarations that were being made in Pakistan

from day to day while he was in Karachi, and to all the bomb explosions organized from Pakistan in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The second thing Dr. Graham said was that we should also declare that we would observe the integrity of the cease-fire line. I do not think anybody has accused us during these ten years of a breach of the cease-fire line. There it is. We do not recognize Pakistan's occupation on the other side as justified in any way, but we have given our word that we will not take any offensive action against it. We have kept our word. On the other hand, organized sabotage has been repeated by Pakistan across the cease-fire line in Kashmir.

The third suggestion of Dr. Graham was about the withdrawal of Pakistan troops from the occupied part of the Jammu and Kashmir State. It is not a question of our agreement to their withdrawal; we have been asking for their withdrawal all this time.

The fourth proposal was about the stationing of U.N. forces on the Pakistan border of the Jammu and Kashmir State following the withdrawal of the Pakistan Army from the State. Now, the proposal was or is for the stationing of U.N. troops not in any part of Jammu and Kashmir territory, not in the part which is occupied by Pakistan now, but in Pakistan territory proper. Pakistan is an independent, sovereign State. If it wants to have any foreign forces, we cannot prevent them. We, for our part, do not like the idea of foreign forces anywhere. And more especially in this connection we did not see any reason why U.N. forces should sit in Pakistan on the Kashmir border. But it is for Pakistan to agree or not to agree.

Finally, Dr. Graham suggested that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan should meet under his auspices. It has been our practice or convention always to be prepared to meet anybody anywhere, not only our friends but our opponents or adversaries as well. There can be no difficulty and no objection on our part for me to meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan. But Dr. Graham says that we should meet under his auspices: that is to say, the three of us should meet. That produces an entirely different type of picture.

First of all, it places us in a position of, let us say, equality in this matter with Pakistan. We have always challenged that position. Pakistan is an aggressor country in Kashmir and we are the aggrieved party. We cannot be treated on the same level. That has been our case right from the beginning.

Secondly, for the two Prime Ministers who meet, it would almost appear as if they have to plead with Dr. Graham under whose auspices they meet, as advocates for certain causes which they represent. This kind of thing does not lead to proper consideration of problems. So we told Dr. Graham that while we were always prepared to meet, this way of meeting, with a third party present, even though the third party might be so eminent as Dr. Graham, was not a desirable way.

I have ventured to say something about Dr. Graham's report because there has been a good deal of ill-informed criticism in the foreign press on the subject.

### **BORDER PROBLEMS**

**T**HE HOUSE KNOWS that the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited Delhi on our invitation. He came here on the 9th of this month and left yesterday morning.

In the course of his stay here, we had talks with each other in regard to border problems principally. At the end of his stay here, a brief statement was issued which has appeared in the press this morning.

That statement mentions that a number of border problems relating to the eastern region have been solved and agreements arrived at. A few other matters still remain for further consideration, and procedures have been laid down for their discussion.

In the eastern region there has been a boundary dispute between West Bengal and Pakistan, in regard to the district of Murshidabad and the district of Rajshahi including the 'thanas' of Nawabganj (Pakistan), and Shivganj which in the



pre-partition days was in Malda district. This was the first item of the Bagge Award.

I might recall here that just before the actual partition took place, Mr. Radcliffe was appointed to determine the exact line of partition of the frontier. He did so, and that was very largely accepted. But some disputes arose as to the interpretation of the Radcliffe Award. Some time thereafter, another tribunal was appointed consisting of a judge from India and a judge from Pakistan and presided over by Mr. Justice Bagge. The Bagge Tribunal considered the disputes in the eastern region and made certain recommendations or awards. Most of these were accepted and acted upon. Unfortunately, however, some doubts still persisted, and arguments have gone on all these years in regard to some areas. The Prime Minister of Pakistan and I considered some of these disputes. One of the decisions arrived at was in regard to the first item of the Bagge Award. Another related to the second item of the Award. This deals with the boundary between a point on the Ganga where the channel of the river Matabhanga takes off according to the Radcliffe Award and the northernmost point where the channel meets the boundary between the 'thanas' of Daulatpur and Karimpur. It has been settled that the exchange of these territories should take place by January 15, 1959.

Then there was the Hilli dispute, also between West Bengal and Pakistan. Pakistan has dropped it, and the position thus has been decided and remains in favour of India.

The fourth was the dispute regarding the Berubari Union No. 12, also between West Bengal and Pakistan. It was decided to divide the area under dispute half and half, one half going to India and the other half going to Pakistan.

The next point was about two Cooch Behar 'chitlands' on the border of West Bengal which, it has been decided, should go to West Bengal.

The next was some dispute about that border between the 24-Parganas in Khulna and the 24-Parganas in Jessore. It was decided again here that the mean position should be adopted in both these, taking the river Ichamati as the guide as far as possible.

Then there is the Assam-East Pakistan border. There was the Bholaganj dispute. In respect of this, Pakistan gave up its claim.

In regard to the Piyain and the Surma rivers, it has been decided that a demarcation be made according to previous notifications, and that wherever the demarcation may be, full facility of navigation should be given to both sides.

On the Tripura-Pakistan border, there was a small bit of territory where the railway passes. We have agreed to give this small territory to Pakistan because it is near their railway. The Feny river dispute is to be dealt with separately.

There is one thing which has long been causing us and Pakistan a great deal of trouble. This relates to the Cooch Behar enclaves. On partition, some of these fell in Pakistan and some in India, as Cooch Behar State itself. The result is that we have some little enclaves in Pakistan and they have some in India. This has led to an awkward situation. Therefore, it has been decided ultimately that we should exchange them, that is, our Cooch Behar territory in Pakistan goes to Pakistan, and their enclaves in India come to India.

I might now mention the problems which have been left over for later decision. One is the Patharia Hill reserve forest in the eastern region. According to us, it is ours, but since there has been some dispute, we have decided to ask the two Conservators of Forests, of Assam and of East Pakistan, together with the two Chief Secretaries, to meet and draw up provisionally a line there, so that friction might be avoided even before a formal settlement. As a matter of fact, nobody lives in this forest, and disputes arise because of timber.

Another matter left over, and an important one for Assam, is in regard to the course of the Kushiara river on the Assam-East Pakistan border. The Bagge Tribunal decided about the course of the Kushiara river but, according to us, some points have not been cleared up, owing to certain confusion about maps. It is an area consisting of about 30 villages, and has been in our possession all along. These are the only matters pertaining to the eastern region that have still to be decided apart from one or two very small ones.

We did not come to any effective decisions in regard to

the western side. The points to be determined there pertain to the Suleimanki and Hussainpura areas. Both deal with canal headworks, and involve decisions regarding how the headworks are to be worked and who should have the bunds. In regard to these, we have suggested that the Commonwealth Secretary of India and the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan should report to us after joint consultation with their respective engineers.

Then there are three other disputes. The first relates to a small area of three villages in the Lahore-Amritsar border. The second is a matter which we had not thought was in dispute at all. This concerns Chak Ladheke, a small tongue of land in the Punjab area. The third is about Chadbet in Kutch. Pakistan raised this question two or three years ago. We thought that there was no dispute about it, and we sent them a rather lengthy reply to which their answer came after two years—only about ten days ago.

The total position is this: quite a number of matters which were leading to irritation between the two countries have been disposed of. This is a matter for satisfaction, since each little thing creates confusion on the border and people suffer. Among the matters still to be resolved, the Kushiyyara river issue is somewhat big. The Patharia forest question is not a difficult one. On the western side, there is the question of the headworks.

We have thought, and we still think, that the best course to decide any outstanding matter that cannot be decided by mutual talks is to refer it to an independent party or tribunal. Either we come to an agreement ourselves or ask somebody else to advise us and accept whatever decision is arrived at, whether it is in our favour or against us. There is no other way. For the present the Pakistan Prime Minister was not agreeable to this being done in regard to one particular matter. But the matter is open for consideration.

In our statement we have said that in regard to the exchange of small territories we do not want any migration to take place. We want the people to continue living in their area, and accept the country to which they will now belong. Further, we have said that we hope to keep in touch with

each other and try to reduce the areas of difference and find out ways of deciding the remaining points.

On the whole, I think, the result of our meeting has been satisfactory.

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IN REGARD TO OUR neighbour country, Pakistan, I have tried to be fair. In this attempt to be fair, I have acknowledged often enough what I thought was wrong on our part. But it is a matter of grief to me that in spite of all this effort not too much change is visible on the other side.

Hon. Members sometimes ask me why we do not act with strength, especially in regard to these border troubles. Mr. Jaipal Singh referred to the Chittagong hill tracts. I must confess that when I first went through the Radcliffe Award, in which the Chittagong hill tracts have been awarded to Pakistan, I was considerably surprised, because, according to any approach or principle, I saw no reason for doing that. But it was a clear decision and not a question of interpretation. What were we to do? Soon after partition we had accepted him as arbitrator. However much his award went against my thinking, against our interests and against India's interests, we could not break our word.

There is a "calling attention" notice from Mr. Premji Assar. In that notice, he has said that a spokesman of the West Bengal Government had said that it would be physically impossible to prevent the exchange of enclaves by the target date. There is some misapprehension about this matter. So far as the Cooch Behar enclaves are concerned, there is no target date at all. There can be none, because their exchange can only take place after legislation has been passed by this Parliament. The target date was fixed for the other exchanges.

A great deal was said yesterday from both sides of the House about the Berubari Union becoming a matter of dispute. In the Radcliffe Award, the boundary of the Berubari Union

was not very clearly described. The matter at that time was not referred to Mr. Justice Bagge. Mr. Bagge finished his work in 1950. But in considering the second Bagge Award, fresh problems arose, there being two interpretations. It was in 1952 that the question of the Berubari Union became a matter of dispute and discussion between India and Pakistan. It is true that the Berubari Union has been in our possession since independence. The House may remember that although possession has been ours, Pakistan claimed a large part of the area around Sylhet-Karimganj as an interpretation of the Radcliffe Award. It is amazing how many difficulties this Radcliffe Award has caused us in interpretation. They claimed huge areas and Mr. Justice Bagge had to deal with this matter together with an Indian judge and a Pakistan judge. The decision of Mr. Justice Bagge in regard to a large piece of territory in Karimganj was in our favour. That part was disposed of. Nevertheless, after the Bagge Award difficulties arose again in interpretation of what Mr. Bagge had said and what Mr. Radcliffe had said. The difficulties arose chiefly because first of all they laid down a rule that we should accept, broadly speaking, the boundaries of districts or 'talukas', or administrative areas. When the internal administrative boundaries also become international frontiers, it makes a difference. One side of a river is sometimes described as the other side. Maps are attached to the description, but they do not tally. Sometimes a river is named and there is doubt as to which river is meant.

After the Bagge Award several matters arose in regard to interpretation. We have been holding to certain interpretations of our own and Pakistan to some others. It was after the Bagge Award, after 1952, that Pakistan raised the question about the Berubari Union. We contested their claim and said that in our opinion the whole Union had been awarded to India. It is not a new dispute. It was finally considered at the Prime Ministers' meeting with secretaries and revenue authorities advising us. The whole agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan was really arrived at on the official level by secretaries and revenue officials. It was accepted by us after close examination. One of

the parts of the agreement was that the Berubari Union, which both claimed in its entirety, should be broadly divided into two parts, northern and southern, the northern remaining with India and the southern going to Pakistan. I cannot obviously enter into the merits of the case. Large maps, charts and revenue records have been studied. I am placing before the House the procedure that was adopted. We accepted the advice chiefly of the revenue authorities and others of West Bengal. I should like to point out that in these various matters of interpretation, there were some in which our case was strong. In some others we felt our case was not very strong. We had to take all these matters into consideration in coming to a give-and-take agreement.

Mr. Jaipal Singh and other Members said we showed weakness in dealing with such matters and that our case had gone by default and we accepted everything that Pakistan said. That is not correct. It might interest the House to know that as a result of the so-called "Nehru-Noon Agreement" the total area that comes to India is 42.4 square miles and the total area that goes to Pakistan is 4.8 square miles. The total area of the Berubari Union is 8.74 square miles, and the agreement is that about half of it should go to them and about half of it should come to us. The total population of the Berubari Union is ten to twelve thousand. I do not know the density of population in each part.

Reference was made to Hilli. As a matter of fact, the whole area of 34.86 square miles comes to India. Pakistan has admitted that it should go to India.

I might now refer to Tukurgram. Tukurgram has been in India's possession ever since independence. The dispute about Tukurgram arose only this year. Tukurgram is part of a larger area about which there has been some dispute. But there is no dispute about Tukurgram by itself. It is undoubtedly our territory.

## MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN

THIS STATEMENT RELATES to the three agreements for military aid signed recently between the U.S.A. and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

A meeting of the Baghdad Pact council was held in London on July 29, 1958. This meeting was held soon after the revolution in Iraq. At this meeting, a declaration was issued on behalf of the Prime Ministers of Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and the United Kingdom and Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, the U.S.A. A copy of this declaration is attached to this statement. The concluding paragraph of the declaration contains an undertaking, given on behalf of the U.S.A. This paragraph runs as follows:

“Article I of the Pact of Mutual Co-operation signed at Baghdad on February 24, 1955, provides that the parties will co-operate for their security and defence and that such measures as they agree to take to give effect to this co-operation may form the subject of special agreements. Similarly, the United States, in the interest of world peace, and pursuant to existing Congressional authorization, agrees to co-operate with the nations making this declaration for their security and defence, and will promptly enter into agreements designed to give effect to this co-operation.”

In pursuance of this undertaking given on behalf of the U.S.A. consultations took place at Ankara early in March 1959, and three agreements were signed on March 5, 1959, between the U.S.A. on the one hand and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan on the other. These three agreements signed on March 5, 1959 are identical. A copy of the Agreement between the U.S.A. and Pakistan is attached to this statement.

Article I of this Agreement of March 5, 1959 runs as follows:

“The Government of Pakistan is determined to resist aggression. In case of aggression against Pakistan, the Government of the United States of America, in

accordance with the Constitution of the United States of America, will take such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be mutually agreed upon and is envisaged in the Joint Resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle East, in order to assist the Government of Pakistan at its request.”

It will be seen from this Article I that the United States of America agreed to assist the Government of Pakistan, at their request, in case of aggression against Pakistan by such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as would be:

- (i) in accordance with the Constitution of the United States of America; and
- (ii) as envisaged in the Joint Resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle East. (This is commonly known as the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East.)

Under the Constitution of the United States of America, U.S. armed forces cannot be used to assist any other country without the specific authority of the United States Congress. The Mutual Security Act authorizes the U.S. Government to give military and economic aid to foreign countries but does not authorize the use of United States forces in support of any other country. The use of the U.S. armed forces in support of any other country without specific sanction of the United States Congress is, however, possible under the authority given by the Joint Resolution of the Congress of March 9, 1957. (A copy of this Joint Resolution, generally known as the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East, is attached to this statement).

Section 2 of this Joint Resolution reads as follows:

“The President is authorized to undertake, in the general area of the Middle East, military assistance programmes with any nation or group of nations of that area desiring such assistance. Furthermore, the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East. To this end, if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United

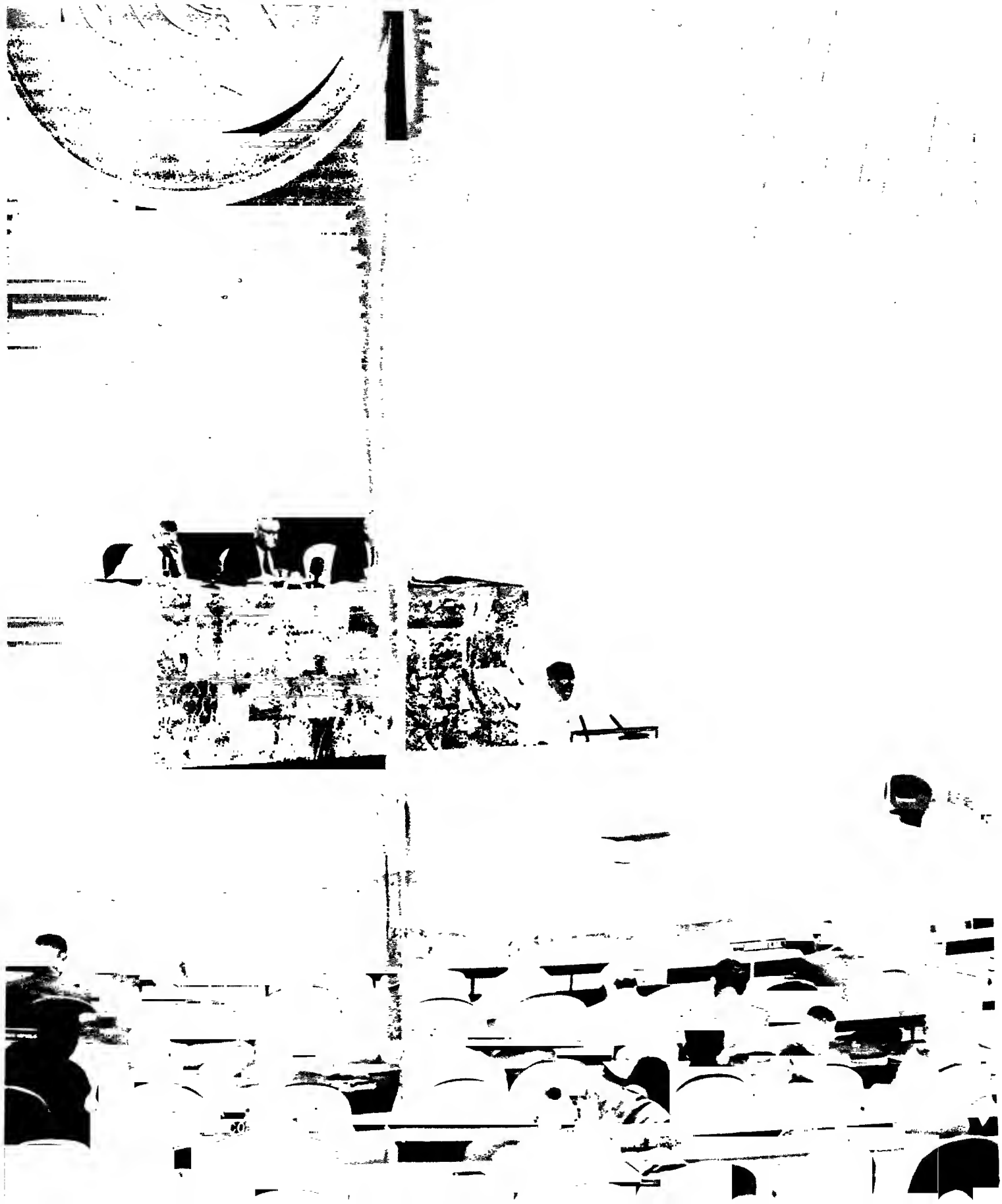




*At a banquet held by him in Kathmandu during his visit to Nepal, June 1959. Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal are seated on either side of Mr. Nehru*

*Signing the Canal Waters Treaty, Karachi, September 1960. With him are the President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, and the Vice-President of the World Bank, Mr. W. A. B. Illiff*





*Addressing the United Nations  
General Assembly, New York,  
October 1960*



*A close-up during the address to the United Nations General Assembly*

States is prepared to use armed forces to assist any such nation or group of such nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism: provided that such employment shall be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the Constitution of the United States."

A study of the documents attached to the statement and, particularly, the portions to which attention has been drawn above, shows that under the latest Agreement signed between the United States of America and Pakistan, the Government of the United States have undertaken that they will not only continue to give economic and military assistance to Pakistan but will also, on request, use the armed forces of the United States in order to assist the Government of Pakistan, in case of armed aggression against Pakistan from any country controlled by international communism.

The spokesmen of the Government of Pakistan have, however, given a wider interpretation to the latest Agreement.

In view of this interpretation on the part of Pakistan and the doubts that had arisen because of this Agreement, a request was made to the United States authorities for clarification. We have been assured by the U.S. authorities that their latest bilateral agreement with Pakistan has no effect other than the extension of the Eisenhower Doctrine to cover Pakistan and that the Eisenhower Doctrine restricts the use of United States armed forces to cases of armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism. We have been specifically assured that this Agreement cannot be used against India. We have also been assured by the United States authorities that there are no secret clauses of this Agreement nor is there any separate secret supplementary agreement.

Spokesmen of the Pakistan Government have on various occasions stated that their objective in entering into a defence aid agreement with the U.S.A. and in joining military pacts and alliances is to strengthen Pakistan against India. We have repeatedly pointed this out and emphasized that the United States defence aid to Pakistan encourages the Pakistan authorities in their aggressiveness and increases tension and

conflict between India and Pakistan. We have known for some time that in cases of attempted sabotage in Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistanis have used some military equipment of United States origin. It is not possible to say whether this equipment is part of the United States defence aid equipment to Pakistan or whether it has been purchased through normal commercial channels. The wider interpretation given by the Pakistan authorities to the latest Agreement is, therefore, a matter of grave concern to us, particularly in the context of our past experience of repeated and increasing aggressive action on the part of Pakistan.

We welcome the assurance given to us by the United States authorities, but aggression is difficult to define, and Pakistan authorities have in the past committed aggression and denied it. In the context of this past experience, the continuing threats held out by Pakistan, and Pakistan's interpretation of the latest Agreement with the U.S.A., it is difficult for us to ignore the possibility of Pakistan utilizing the aid received by it from other countries against India even though those other countries have given us clear assurance to the contrary. We have, therefore, requested the United States authorities to clarify this position still further.

We have repeatedly stated and it is our firm policy that we will not take any military action against Pakistan or any other country except in self-defence. We are sure that the Government and the people of the United States have nothing but goodwill for us and that they will not be parties to any agreements, formal or informal, open or secret, which may threaten the security of India.

### AGREEMENT ON CANAL WATERS

**A**N HON. MEMBER asked me about the Canal Waters Agreement. Broadly it is based on the World Bank's proposal of 1954, the salient feature of which was the allotment

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From reply to debate in Lok Sabha, September 1, 1960

of the waters of the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab, except for minor uses in Jammu and Kashmir, to Pakistan and those of the Sutlej, the Ravi and the Beas to India. A transition period during which Pakistan would construct canals, etc. to replace supplies hitherto received by her from the rivers going to India was to be fixed, India contributing towards the replacement works and allowing to Pakistan progressively diminishing supplies from the eastern rivers during this transition period.

The main features of this treaty are: Pakistan should build these replacement works, presumably in ten years' time, and during these ten years we supply water to them, though in a progressively diminishing degree. In building these works, Pakistan is going to be helped by us financially to the extent that we are going to deprive her of the water that she has been getting so far. In effect, however, Pakistan is going to build on a much bigger scale with the help of a number of countries and the World Bank. Large sums of money are going to be given to Pakistan by the World Bank and by a number of other countries. But that has nothing to do with our agreement. We are going to make an *ad hoc* contribution spread over ten years.

It has taken a long time to decide how much water we are to give during the transition period of ten years and in what form the payment should be made. The ten-year period began on April 1, 1960, the date on which the treaty came into effect, and it can be extended by a further period of three years at Pakistan's request. The extension is subject to a reduction in our contribution by 5 per cent in the first year, 10 per cent over two years and by 16 per cent over the three years. The ten-year period is to be roughly divided into two phases, 1960-66 and 1966-70. The water to be supplied by India to Pakistan from the eastern rivers during the transition period is to be of a diminishing scale. India will have no responsibility for their canals, etc.

A question that troubles many people is what effect this agreement with Pakistan is likely to have on the Rajasthan Canal. According to present plans, the Rajasthan Canal will be ready to carry some irrigation water up to 1,200 cusecs in

1961, 2,100 cusecs in 1962 and 3,000 cusecs in 1963. Thereafter it is proposed to enlarge the capacity in such a way that by about 1970 the Canal would be developed to 18,500 cusecs. We are trying to provide water to the Rajasthan Canal throughout this period on an increasing scale. This will partly depend also on another scheme, namely the Beas scheme. Although the Rajasthan Canal will get water in an increasing quantity during this period, the full supply will come only when the Beas scheme is completed. Because we are accommodating Pakistan to a considerable extent, the World Bank has promised us aid for the construction of the Beas Dam.

The treaty provides for a permanent Indus Commission, consisting of commissioners from India and Pakistan. Each commissioner will be the representative of his Government for all matters arising out of the treaty and will serve as a regular channel of communication on all matters relating to the implementation of the treaty. The permanent Indus Commission will take the first steps to iron out any differences between the two sides. The treaty also provides for a neutral expert to whom differences of a technical nature would be submitted for solution. A court of arbitration has been provided to deal with major disputes on the interpretation of the treaty. This, broadly, is the position.

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THIS IS INDEED A UNIQUE occasion and a memorable day, memorable in many ways, memorable certainly in the fact that a very difficult and complicated problem which has troubled India and Pakistan for many years has been satisfactorily solved. It is also memorable because it is an outstanding example of a co-operative endeavour among our two countries as well as other countries and the International Bank.

On behalf of India I congratulate you, Mr. President, and I congratulate you, Mr. Iliff, as representative of the International Bank. I know how Mr. Black and you have laboured

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Statement at the time of signing the Canal Waters Treaty, Karachi, September 19, 1960

these past many years. Indeed, I often marvelled at your patience and your persistence in spite of all manner of difficulties.

This settlement is memorable because it will bring assurance of relief to large numbers of people—farmers and others—in Pakistan and India. All of us, in spite of many scientific improvements, still depend upon the good earth and good water and the combination of these two leads to prosperity for the peasant and the countries concerned. By this arrangement we have tried to utilize to the best advantage the waters of the Indus river system. These waters have flowed down for ages past, the greater part going to the sea without being utilized. This is a happy occasion for all of us. The actual material benefits which will arise from this are great. But even greater than these material benefits are the psychological and emotional benefits. This treaty, Mr. President, is a happy symbol of the larger co-operation between your country and mine. I should like to express my deep gratitude to the International Bank and to all those who have laboured within Pakistan, in India and in the other friendly countries, and to all who have come to our assistance in this matter and generously made contributions towards solving this problem.

I feel sure that if we approach any problem in the world in a spirit of co-operative endeavour, it will be much easier of solution than it might appear to be. Therefore, most of all I welcome the spirit which, in spite of all difficulties and obstructions and obstacles, has triumphed in the end. Ultimately, the spirit does triumph even in this material age. I should again like to express my deep satisfaction at the happy outcome of many years' labour and hope that this will bring prosperity to a vast number of people on both sides and will increase the goodwill and friendship between India and Pakistan.



## PAKISTAN'S POLICY IS NEGATIVE

I WAS SURPRISED and grieved at some of the statements of the President of Pakistan. I do not expect him to say things which I like or which we may approve of, but the context of some of these statements and the way in which India was made the subject of his attacks in foreign countries did seem to me very peculiar and undesirable. It is not normally done, more especially by Heads of States. It showed a mental approach which I thought was deplorable. The approach was one of hatred of India, dislike that India should make any progress, and generally a basic policy which did not think positively of Pakistan but negatively of what should not happen to India.

President Ayub Khan has said that if the Kashmir question is settled according to his liking, then all would be well. I am convinced more than ever that this question of India and Pakistan is not dependent on Kashmir and on what happens to Kashmir. It has deeper roots, unfortunately, in the minds of the rulers of Pakistan. If the Kashmir question was removed from the scene, even then the Pakistan authorities—I do not think the people are concerned in this—would fiercely attack India because their whole policy is anti-Indian, based on dislike of India and envy of India making progress. This is the basic policy of Pakistan and it is difficult to deal with it. One can judge our policies and their policies. We do not go about talking about Pakistan all the time. We may occasionally refer to it. We do not curse Pakistan. We want friendship with Pakistan and its people. We want Pakistan to progress, while in Pakistan the major subject of debate is always India, dislike and hatred of India. This is extraordinary. They have developed a complex. Instead of looking after Pakistan's progress, which we would welcome, they think their progress consists somehow in denigrating India.

It is very difficult for us to deal with this kind of mental complex but you can see how it has come about. The whole origin of Pakistan was not based on a positive concept. It was based on the concept of hatred. The brave people of Pakistan,

who fought for independence shoulder to shoulder with us, suddenly found themselves ruled by people who had taken no part in the independence struggle. They had taken part against independence! People who had supported the British rule became the rulers of Pakistan. They had no roots in the independence movement. They had opposed it. Socially speaking, they belonged to the big landlord class. The result was that there was enormous difference between what took place in India and what took place in Pakistan. Before we came into the Government, we had some kind of an economic policy, an agrarian policy, a policy in regard to landlordism and the like. And the record of the past twelve years has been an attempt to bring about these changes in India, and the attempt continues.

In Pakistan, there was no such background. The only background was hatred of India, dislike of India and fear of India. Why fear? India would not attack them, both because our whole background is against such a course and because our minds are full of the Five Year Plans and our economic planning. We wanted peace to develop our country. But the Pakistan authorities had no such thing to fill their minds. The only thing there was, was hatred and fear of India.

Kashmir comes in, because in Kashmir they are the guilty party, as this House knows very well. People from Pakistan or through Pakistan came to Kashmir, invaded Kashmir and committed arson, rape and every kind of crime. Kashmir acceded to India, legally, practically and in every way. That is a position which has been accepted by the Commission which the United Nations sent here. When the issue dragged on at the U.N., it was decided by the Kashmir Government, in consultation with us, that they could not stop the progress of the people of Kashmir. So they elected their Constituent Assembly and framed their Constitution. After that, there have been two general elections, and the third is coming soon to coincide with the general elections in the rest of the country.

In spite of all difficulties, Kashmir has made very considerable progress. In education, it has made remarkable progress considering that it started almost from scratch. In other

spheres too, such as power development, and some small industries and medium industries, it is making progress. Look at the two pictures; on one side you have been making progress; on the other you have that bit of Kashmir which is under Pakistan occupation doing practically nothing except singing songs of hatred. The difference is amazing. When people in Pakistan talk about plebiscite, etc. in Kashmir, it does rather surprise one that a country which has given up the whole business of elections should advise another country to have plebiscite and elections.

I ventured to take the time of the House to probe the past because the authorities of Pakistan have always got mentally tied up in this way although, broadly speaking, the people of Pakistan are free of this. The result is that Pakistan has not yet developed national roots.

We want Pakistan to prosper, to go ahead and to co-operate with us, and we shall co-operate with them. For that is a normal thing to do for adjoining, neighbouring countries, more especially for two countries which had been one.

We went pretty far in the Canal Waters Agreement. It may justly be said that it was a generous agreement on our part. We took burdens with a view to bringing about that agreement, and other countries also took heavy burdens and Pakistan profited greatly by the agreement. The Canal Waters Agreement was followed by some frontier agreements, but a loud outcry was raised soon after about Kashmir.

There is another matter which has not become a loud outcry yet. That is in regard to certain rivers in East Bengal and West Bengal. The House knows very well about the Farakka barrage scheme, which is meant essentially for the vital purpose of protection for the port of Calcutta. It is a most urgent matter. Unless we take it up, the port of Calcutta may gradually become useless; and where will the city of Calcutta be if the port of Calcutta becomes useless? It is a matter of the greatest importance. Therefore, we have been investigating it for some time and waiting for our plans to be ready. When the plans became ready, we informed Pakistan about it.

When I was in England earlier this year for the Common-

wealth Prime Ministers' Conference, President Ayub Khan made mention to me of the East Bengal rivers, and said, "You are building something, and we intend to do something. Let us do it in such a way as to benefit each other, and anyhow not to come in each other's way, and let us decide this at a Ministers' meeting". I said. "Certainly, we are always prepared to co-operate with you. We shall gladly do this." But I see a kind of propaganda gradually being started in Pakistan and to some extent in other countries by Pakistan's representatives to the effect that we are trying to do enormous injury to the people of East Pakistan by the Farakka Barrage and that millions will die because of it. It is a most extraordinary line of propaganda. As a matter of fact, our approach to the Farakka Barrage is that we do not wish in any way to harm the interests of East Pakistan by it, and we shall try to adhere to that to the best of our ability.

### AN EXTRAORDINARY APPROACH

THE KASHMIR QUESTION has been brought up before the Security Council as a matter of urgent importance. For six or seven years it had not been there, and suddenly it cropped up and it was said to be very urgent. Why? Because it was stated that India was on the point of marching on Pakistan or on that portion of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan. The leaders of Pakistan knew very well that nothing of this kind was going to happen. They have the habit of making statements which have no foundation whatsoever.

It is absurd to imagine that India is going to march an army over that part of Kashmir which Pakistan occupies. However, the leaders of Pakistan made this a matter of great urgency. We had no particular objection to it, except that we saw no benefit arising out of a debate in the Security Council. It was only likely that the speeches would embitter our

relations still further. That is why we were against a debate.

After a tremendous plea of hurry lest something should happen, a date was ultimately fixed a few days ago. Mr. Zafrullah Khan delivered an address which he did not finish that day. The next date for him to continue that address fell a week later. Suddenly the element of hurry was absent. This postponement of the address by a week upset our programme or rather the programme of our Defence Minister who had to speak on our behalf. He had gone there for three or four days to answer the charge and come back. But when he arrived at the Security Council, he was told that he had to stay there a week to listen to the concluding part of Mr. Zafrullah Khan's speech. He naturally said that it was very awkward for him. He had important work here and with great difficulty he got the date advanced by one day. Thereupon, Mr. Zafrullah Khan said that he had not been given enough time to prepare his case.

This is very extraordinary. Here is a matter pending for several years. Mr. Zafrullah Khan has been preparing his case and wanting a debate urgently. Then because the date was fixed a day earlier than he wanted, he said he was not prepared to put forward his case.

In the course of his speech in the Security Council Mr. Zafrullah Khan said, among other things, that a second tribal invasion of Kashmir would take place if the Council failed to find a suitable solution.

We have got definite information that for some months past the Pakistan authorities have been registering names of tribesmen for "khasedars" on a monthly salary of Rs. 54. Nearly 5,000 men have offered their services, but actual recruitment has not taken place yet. These figures are for one small bazar area only. Probably it is taking place elsewhere too. These tribals were invited first to a function as "khasedars", which is the name used for the local levies who have functioned in those areas from the British times. They asked these "khasedars" to serve in their own areas and they agreed to that on salary. When they were told that they had to go to Kashmir they were not at all anxious to do so, perhaps because they were likely to meet the Indian Army there. Many therefore

withdrew their names. But Pakistan leaders go to the Security Council with threats of tribal invasion and of war. I would beg the House to consider the extent to which the Pakistan Government's whole attitude is unrealistic, because they know that if any such thing happens, there will be war, an all-out war. Unfortunately, all their strength consists in the military aid which they have got from the United States. If they had not got that aid, they would probably talk in a much lower key. And by their threats they seek to get more aid from the United States. I should like the United States Government, which I respect greatly, more especially under the present leadership, to consider the effect of their aid, and how they counter-balance their own policy by the military aid which they give to Pakistan.

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NEWS HAS COME to us of the fate of the discussion on Kashmir in the Security Council. It appears that a resolution was introduced in the Council by the Irish delegate. It was supported by four permanent delegates, that is, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Formosan China, and two of the South American States, Venezuela and Chile. It was opposed by two neutrals, Ghana and U.A.R., and was opposed also by the Soviet Union and Rumania.

The opposition by the Soviet Union which has voted against the resolution is loosely called a veto. It is supposed to be the 100th veto which the Soviet Union has exercised in the last fifteen years. A long discussion took place about this matter in the Security Council, and our representative, the Defence Minister, spoke at some length expressing his deep sorrow that this resolution should have been brought forward and, more especially, that Ireland should have brought it forward. And others also spoke.

The proceedings are over. But it is a matter for deep regret to me that repeatedly when subjects which concern

us greatly and about which we feel rather passionately almost, like Goa and Kashmir, are debated, it should be our misfortune that two great powers, the United States and the United Kingdom, should almost invariably be against us.

In a matter like Goa every Member of this House knows how strongly we felt and how, in spite of our feeling, we delayed any action till it was almost thrust upon us by the circumstances. Yet, it was made an occasion for reading to us homilies and lectures as to how we should behave in international matters. In regard to Kashmir also, in the course of the last fourteen or fifteen years, the facts have been so often stated that they must be known, at any rate, to responsible persons who speak in the Security Council, and yet the patent fact that it was India which brought this matter before the Security Council complaining of aggression by or through Pakistan has not yet received the full attention of the Security Council. Always India and Pakistan have been placed, notably by those two powers, on the same level. "It is a dispute", they say, "between two quarrelling people, and they should sit down and settle it." We are prepared to sit down any time with anybody, even with people who have done wrong. But this approach has been extraordinary.

United Nations Commissions have come here, and individuals have come here; we have got nearly ten fat printed volumes connected with Kashmir. In spite of this, these patent facts have not been realized by them in the Security Council as one would have hoped for. So the only other conclusion which one could come to is that having realized the facts they do not like those facts, that they have made up their minds to go in a certain way, and that they think the facts of aggression and of accession and the constitutional and legal aspects are not important. There is also the question of the consequences of any action which they suggest.

We are reminded of the resolutions passed in 1948 and 1949 by the United Nations Security Council and the Commissions which it sent. We accepted them. The very first thing in those resolutions was that Pakistan should vacate aggression. After that other things would follow. It does not strike the distinguished representative of the United States or of the

United Kingdom that Pakistan has not vacated aggression and has not carried out the Security Council resolution for these fourteen years. We agreed to a plebiscite, and I have no doubt that if Pakistan had withdrawn its forces, we would have had the plebiscite then and there. But Pakistan never withdrew its forces, which was an essential part. As an hon. Member said, the United States, in addition to this fact, or, maybe, as a consequence of it, gives military aid to Pakistan, which leads to all kinds of consequences. It leads to an aggressive attitude on the part of Pakistan, and it constantly speaks in terms of war.

Any person would realize that the giving of this armed aid to Pakistan is likely to hurt India, not only mentally but physically, and drive us into spending more and more. We are getting aid for civil works from the U.S. and we are very grateful for that aid. At the same time, steps like military aid to Pakistan compel us to spend more money on defence out of our slender resources.

### INDO-PAKISTAN TALKS

AS THE HOUSE is aware, we have recently had visits from Mr. Duncan Sandys, Minister of Commonwealth Relations in the United Kingdom, and Mr. Averell Harriman, Assistant Secretary of State in the United States. We had long discussions with them about the Chinese invasion of India and our need for various kinds of equipment to meet this attack on our country. I am glad to say that these discussions were fruitful and we hope to get much of the equipment required from the United States and the United Kingdom as well as some other friendly countries. I am grateful to these countries for the help they are giving us in this crisis which we have to face.

In the course of my talks with Mr. Duncan Sandys and Mr. Harriman the question of our relations with Pakistan was



raised. I told them that it had always been our policy to have friendly and co-operative relations with Pakistan because this seemed to us essential not only because of geography, but because of our joint history, culture, language and the many bonds that had arisen between us during the long years. We had always aimed at that and we are sure that this is the only proper relationship that should subsist between two neighbouring countries and people who have had such close bonds in the past. The question of Kashmir was referred to and we explained to them our position and pointed out that anything which involved an upset of the present arrangement would be very harmful to the people of Kashmir as well as to the future relations of India and Pakistan. We were, however, always ready to discuss this, as other matters, with representatives of the Pakistan Government at any level desired. In fact, we had suggested meetings at various levels in the course of the last few months, but no positive response had come from Pakistan.

Mr. Sandys and Mr. Harriman appreciated our position, but still suggested that a friendly discussion about the various matters between India and Pakistan might be helpful. I was agreeable to this; indeed we have been ourselves suggesting some such meeting for some time past. I explained to them again, however, our basic principles and how it was not possible for us to bypass or ignore them.

Mr. Sandys thereafter went to Pakistan and came back yesterday after consultation with President Ayub Khan suggesting that a joint statement should be issued on behalf of both the Governments stating that a renewed effort should be made to resolve the outstanding differences so as to enable India and Pakistan to live side by side in peace and friendship, and further stating that discussions should be started at an early date initially at the ministerial level and later at an appropriate stage directly between the Heads of Government. We suggested some variations in the draft joint statement. These were largely agreed to. Ultimately, the following joint statement was issued on behalf of the Governments of India and Pakistan.

"The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of

India have agreed that a renewed effort should be made to resolve the outstanding differences between their two countries on Kashmir and other related matters, so as to enable India and Pakistan to live side by side in peace and friendship.

"In consequence, they have decided to start discussions at an early date with the object of reaching an honourable and equitable settlement.

"These will be conducted initially at the ministerial level. At the appropriate stage direct talks will be held between Mr. Nehru and President Ayub."

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### PAKISTAN-CHINA BOUNDARY AGREEMENT

THREE DAYS AGO, simultaneous announcements were made by the Governments of Pakistan and China to the effect that the firm boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan had never been formally delimited and demarcated in history, and that with a view to ensuring tranquillity in the border and developing good-neighbourly relations between the countries, the two sides had agreed to conduct negotiations so as to attain an agreed understanding on the location and alignment of this boundary and to sign on this basis an agreement of a provisional nature. The two sides have, however, agreed that after settlement of the dispute over Kashmir between Pakistan and India, the sovereign authorities concerned shall re-open negotiations with the Chinese Government regarding the boundary of Kashmir so as to sign a formal boundary treaty to replace the provisional agreement.

I need not tell the House that Kashmir State as a whole is an integral part of the Union of India. This announcement of the Chinese Government to deal with Pakistan in regard to that part of Kashmir State which is occupied unlawfully by Pakistan seems to us an interference on the part of China

in India's sovereignty over Kashmir. The acceptance by the Government of Pakistan of the Chinese Government's view that this boundary has never been delimited and demarcated in history and their willingness to demarcate it now appear rather an opportunist attempt to take advantage of a particular position, even though this might involve changes in the well-known boundary which has been known to exist for a long time. Obviously in these high mountain ranges boundaries are not demarcated on the ground. There are some mountain peaks which have not been reached by human beings, and others which have been reached only occasionally. Therefore, demarcation on the ground is not easy.

We have made it perfectly clear in the past both to the Pakistan Government and the Chinese Government that we would not recognize any arrangements arrived at between the two Governments in regard to those parts of the frontier now in possession of Pakistan. A little more than a year and a half ago when I was in Pakistan I raised this question in a friendly way with President Ayub Khan, with his Foreign Minister and with others present, because China was encroaching upon our boundary and part of that boundary was under the occupation of Pakistan. I wanted to know exactly where the Chinese were in relation to that part of the boundary, whether they had given any trouble to Pakistan, and what steps Pakistan had taken to meet the situation.

There was an area which the Mir of Hunza claimed. He had protested to the Pakistan Government that the Chinese had occupied some grazing areas there belonging to his original State, Hunza, which is part of Kashmir territory. This matter had come before us earlier also. We had examined all the old papers and had found that this was an old dispute between the then Tibet Government and the Government of India through the Kashmir Government. The British Government, after due enquiry, had not accepted the Mir of Hunza's claim to that grazing area and, therefore, had refused to intervene in this matter. That refers to a particular spot, the grazing area, and not to the whole frontier. I wanted to know what Pakistan's attitude was in this matter. Therefore, I raised it with President Ayub Khan and told him of the old papers

we had. He said we could not lay claim to the grazing area of Hunza when the British Government had given it up.

Nevertheless, the major question remained about the border there. It seemed to me that both the Pakistan Government and the Chinese Government were not fully cognizant of the facts of the situation. Such facts as we knew were a little more than what the Pakistan authorities knew. We discussed the matter. I showed them our maps and later they sent their maps which differed slightly.

I have given this past history to keep the House informed in regard to this border question. We treated the Pakistan Government in a friendly way because we thought that any action which they might take should be in line with the action we were taking in regard to this border, and should not conflict. Unfortunately for various reasons they have come to this agreement with the Chinese which is an interference, on both sides, with India's legal rights.

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AS THE HOUSE is aware, representatives of the Governments of Pakistan and the People's Republic of China have signed what has been described as an agreement regarding the alignment of the boundary between Sinkiang and that part of the Indian territory in Jammu and Kashmir which is under Pakistan's illegal occupation. Details of the agreement have already appeared in the press. A copy of the agreement as released by the Government of Pakistan in Karachi is being laid on the table of the House.

According to the details released officially in Karachi, the Government of Pakistan first informally sounded China and then sent a diplomatic note on the 28th March, 1961, expressing the desire to negotiate demarcation of the boundary. The Chinese Government reacted formally to this offer, about a year later, in February 1962. On the 3rd May, 1962, the Governments of Pakistan and China issued a joint com-

munique, in which they agreed to conduct negotiations on the subject. We protested against this development to both Governments. In view of these developments, our representative in the Security Council stated our position authoritatively during the debates on Kashmir on the 4th May and the 22nd June, 1962.

On the eve of the Indo-Pakistan talks on Kashmir and other related matters, the Governments of China and Pakistan announced an agreement, in principle, on the alignment of the border of the illegally occupied area of Kashmir with Sinkiang. Sardar Swaran Singh, Leader of the Indian Delegation, immediately made our position clear to President Ayub Khan and Mr. Bhutto in Rawalpindi, and again to Mr. Bhutto later, when the talks were resumed in Delhi, in January last. On the 26th January, we lodged a protest with the Government of Pakistan against the decision announced in the joint communique issued by them on the 28th December, 1962. Another protest is being lodged with the Government of Pakistan against the signing of this Sino-Pakistan border alignment agreement in Peking.

It has been stated in Karachi that the difference between the Chinese claim line and the Pakistan claim line was 3,400 square miles. In the final agreement, Pakistan claims to have received 1,350 square miles, including 700 square miles of area which was in China's possession. The Chinese have been given 2,050 square miles under the agreement.

According to the survey of Pakistan maps, even those published in 1962, about 11,000 square miles of Sinkiang territory formed part of Kashmir. If one goes by these maps Pakistan has obviously surrendered over 13,000 square miles of territory.

Although, according to the agreement, the parties have agreed to delimit the boundary on the basis of the traditional customary boundary line including natural features, the boundary, as agreed to, does not do so. The Pakistan line of actual control, according to the map which the Government of Pakistan had supplied to our High Commission, lay across the Kilik, Mintaka, Khunjerab passes; but, thereafter, the line left the watershed and followed neither the Aghil Range,

which is the traditional boundary, nor the Karakoram Range along which the alignment claimed by the Government of China lay. In fact, the Pakistan line of actual control ran along no definite natural features, but cut across the tributaries of the Shaksgam river and sometimes lay half way up the slopes. It then reached the Karakoram pass. Running south of the traditional alignment, the Pakistan line of actual control surrendered about 1,600 square miles to China. The difference between the Pakistan and Chinese alignments was about 2,100 square miles.

The agreement claims to be provisional, and yet so much haste has been shown in concluding it. It is significant that it is not subject to ratification. Thus the National Assembly, the press and the public of Pakistan have been given and will be given no opportunity to examine the terms of this agreement.

I have already stated in this House that we are naturally anxious to have a settlement with Pakistan. But I cannot help feeling that the joint announcement in December last, the Pakistan Government's announcement on the 22nd February to sign the border agreement in Peking, and finally the signing of this agreement have been timed to prejudice the outcome of the joint talks on Kashmir and other related matters. However, as an earnest of our desire for an honourable and equitable settlement with Pakistan, we propose to continue with the talks in Calcutta. I have also stated that a settlement does not mean that we accept whatever is proposed by Pakistan, right or wrong. We cannot abandon the principles we have always valued.

The other party to the agreement, namely China, in spite of its professions that it has never involved itself in the dispute over Kashmir or its absurd claim that the boundary negotiations have promoted friendship between the Chinese and Pakistani peoples and are in the interests of Asia and world peace, is directly interfering in Indo-Pakistan relations. By doing this, China is seeking to exploit differences between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir question to further its own expansionist policy. The Government of India have made their position clear in a protest against this agreement which

has been lodged with the Government of the People's Republic of China.

#### D. GENERAL

#### APPEAL TO THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R.

I VENTURE TO appeal to the great leaders of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. I do so in all humility, but with great earnestness. We in India have grave problems to face. But I am overwhelmed by the thought of the crisis in civilization which the world is facing today, the like of which it has not known ever before. I believe that it is in the power of America and Russia to solve this crisis and save humanity from the ultimate disaster which faces it.

Our earth has become too small for the new weapons of the atomic age. While man, in the pride of his intellect and knowledge, forces his way into space and pierces the heavens, the very existence of the human race is threatened. There are enough weapons of mass destruction already to put an end to life on earth. Today, America and Russia possess them in abundance, and England also has them. Tomorrow, it may be that other countries will possess them, and even the capacity to control them will go outside the range of human power. Nuclear test explosions take place, contaminating air and water and food, as well as directly injuring the present and future generations of mankind.

No country, no people, however powerful they might be, are safe from destruction if this competition in weapons of mass destruction and cold war continues.

Apart from these dangers ahead, the civilization which thousands of years of human effort have built up is being corroded and undermined by fear and hatred, and will

progressively wither away if these trends continue. All the peoples of the world have a right to life and progress and the fulfilment of their destiny. They have the right to peace and security. They can preserve these rights now only by living peacefully together and by solving their problems by peaceful methods. They differ in their creeds and beliefs and ideologies. They cannot convert each other by force or threats of force, for any such attempt will lead to catastrophe for all. The only way is to exist peacefully together in spite of differences, and to give up the policy of hatred and violence.

The moral and the ethical approaches demand this. But practical common sense points this way even more.

I have no doubt that this can be done. I have no doubt that America and Russia have it in their power to put an end to this horror that is enveloping the world and darkening our minds and our future.

Millions of people believe in what is called Western capitalism; millions also believe in communism. But, there are many millions who are not committed to either of these ideologies, and yet seek, in friendship with others, a better life and a more hopeful future.

I speak for myself, but I believe that I echo the thoughts of vast numbers of people in my country as well as in other countries of the world. I venture, therefore, to make this appeal to the great leaders, more especially of America and Russia, in whose hands fate and destiny have placed such tremendous power today to mould this world and either to raise it to undreamt heights or to hurl it to the pit of disaster. I appeal to them to stop all nuclear test explosions and thus to show to the world that they are determined to end this menace, and to proceed also to bring about effective disarmament. The moment this is done, a great weight will be lifted from the mind of man. But it is not merely a physical change that is necessary, but an attempt to remove fear and reverse the perilous trend which threatens the continued existence of the human race. It is only by direct approaches and agreements through peaceful methods that these problems can be solved.



## RISE OF ARAB NATIONALISM

OUR GENERAL VIEW in regard to West Asia has been frequently stated. Our approach is not inimical to any country there. It is friendly to all countries, but inevitably our sympathies are with the Arab countries and with Arab nationalism which represents today the urge of the people. Also, according to our general policy as well as our views on the present situation in West Asia, we do not accept that foreign troops should be used in any territory in the area in the circumstances prevailing there. We are convinced that there can be no settlement and no return to normality till foreign troops are removed from the area. Sometimes it is stated that these countries should be treated like tender infants and be under the guardianship of bigger countries. But it is quite clear that they do not like this offer of guardianship and patronage, and in fact resent such suggestions.

One has to take, to some extent, a historical view of the developments in West Asia. For hundreds of years these countries in West Asia were under Turkish domination. They came out of it at the end of the first world war. The Western powers decided what they liked about these countries without really caring much for the wishes of the people. Probably there was no organized way for the people to express their views. New nations were created, and the contacts of the Western powers were with the rulers of their own creation or, chiefly, with the landed gentry. There were few contacts with the people. The whole period between the two world wars was one when Arab nationalism was trying to push out this foreign domination and was gradually making some progress in that direction. Then came the war and the post-war period, when much has happened in the various countries of the Middle East.

The major fact in West Asia is the growth of Arab nationalism in a very powerful, resurgent way. Egypt took the lead in this matter and, under the wise leadership of President Nasser, has played a very important part. Nasser, in fact

became the most prominent symbol of Arab nationalism. This fact, which was patent, was neither liked nor appreciated by many powers, and an attempt was made to split the Arab countries, in fact, Arab nationalism.

The House may remember the talk about building up the "northern tier defence" and about the Baghdad Pact. The motives were supposed to be to protect these countries from attack or invasion from the Soviet Union and to give them security and peace. As a matter of fact, the result was quite the contrary. The troubles of these countries only increased because of such an approach. The Arab countries, at any rate the Governments, were divided—some in the Baghdad Pact and some outside it. While the Governments carried on a cold war against each other, the people almost in every Arab country were powerfully affected by this tide of Arab nationalism. Thus in the countries associated with the Baghdad Pact there was a hiatus between the Governments and the people, the people looking more and more towards Arab nationalism and the Governments looking in another direction and rather ranged against the spirit of Arab nationalism. How big this hiatus was can be seen from the *coup d'état* in Baghdad which surprised everyone. I believe it surprised even the people in Iraq and Egypt. The surprise was not essentially that it took place but the speed with which it took place and the complete success which attended it. It showed how utterly divorced from public opinion the Government of Iraq was. When the change came, it brought tremendous relief all over Iraq, and the people flocked to the side of the new Government. So this attempt at not recognizing the spirit of Arab nationalism, even trying to come in its way and obstructing it, really achieved the opposite effect—it encouraged nationalism as such an approach will inevitably do. This has resulted in the Arab nations coming nearer to one another and will no doubt bring about a great deal of co-operation between them. It was said that some kind of an Arab empire was being built up, which was dangerous. I do not know about the future, but I see no empire, much less an Arab empire.

The theory of the vacuum is sometimes advanced, as if the removal of the influence of some great powers must

necessarily be filled in by some other powers. It is an extraordinary appraisal of the situation which does not recognize the effect of Arab nationalism which has become such a dominant force.

We are convinced that any effective solution of the problems of West Asia must be based on the recognition of the dominant urge and force of Arab nationalism. Any settlement must have the goodwill and co-operation of the Arab nations. The need of the European countries for oil is patent, but there should be no difficulty in arriving at a friendly arrangement which ensures the supply of oil. However, the presence of foreign forces of any kind in this area will be a constant irritant, leading to trouble. Peace in this area, as indeed anywhere else, will come if the area is removed from the orbit of the cold war. Every one of the Arab countries has tremendous problems of development to face. If the threat of war is removed from them, they will apply themselves to these problems and become a source of strength to the forces of peace.

There is another aspect of the West Asian problem which cannot be ignored. This is the continuing element of danger in the relations between the Arab countries and Israel. Ever since Israel came into existence, it has been a source of constant irritation to the Arab countries. The invasion of Egypt by Israel two years ago is fresh in our memory. Apart from this, there is the big problem of the old Palestine refugees. The Arab countries have looked upon Israel as an outpost from which their freedom might at any time be threatened. Israel, on the other hand, fears the Arab countries which surround it. There can be no real peace in the area till this difficult problem is settled in a satisfactory way. Naturally, a settlement can be reached only with the goodwill of the countries of this area. There can be no settlement by war which, if it occurs, may well become a major war. I do not suggest that any attempt should, or can, be made to deal with this problem now. The question should not be raised at this stage, but will have to wait for some time. Only when the other problems of West Asia have advanced towards a solution and the passions have cooled to some extent can this difficult problem be tackled.

## GROWTH OF THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY

ONE OF THE most striking things today is the gradual development of what has been called the African personality. It is emerging, and I have no doubt that it is going to play a vital role in the future. Whether it can play that role through peaceful development or not, I cannot say. For, down south and in the south-west of the African continent, there are forces which are not only opposed to that African personality but are ranged today in complete opposition to any idea of race equality, political equality or any kind of equality. Of course, the most outstanding exponent of this doctrine of racial inequality is the Union of South Africa. But there are some areas north and north-west of it, where, though the Government has not expressed such opinions, the European people who are dominant often express the very ideas that the South African Government expresses. The question of the people of Indian descent in South Africa has really merged into bigger questions where not only Indians are affected but the whole African population along with the Chinese people, the Japanese people and any other people who happen to go to South Africa and who do not belong to European or American countries.

We have been building up opposition against the policy of apartheid. If this kind of policy continues in the Union of South Africa and, at the same time, what I referred to as the African personality grows, there can be no doubt that there will be a mighty clash between the two. Such a clash can be of advantage to neither side, because it is quite inconceivable for these growing nations of Africa—finding their soul in some measure of freedom, you might say—to put up with the kind of treatment that the South African Union has given to coloured people. They will never put up with it, as we can never put up with it. Our only hope lies in the recognition on the part of the South African Union, under pressure of world opinion, of the fact that the whole world is turning against them in so far as apartheid is concerned, so that they will change their policies to avoid a catastrophe.

I have referred to this growth of the African personality. We know about the emergence of the new State of Ghana a year ago as an independent State. Other developments have taken place since then, and the latest to become independent has been Guinea, which had formed part of the French possessions. A very interesting phase of this new development has been Ghana and Guinea agreeing to come together. It is not quite clear in what form they will come together, but whatever legal or constitutional form that might be, it does represent the outward manifestation of that deep urge in African countries to come together. In the recent conference held in Accra, this urge has found utterance. I am sure that this House would wish to send its goodwill to these young African nations who are finding their soul, and who in the past centuries have suffered more than any other people in the world and have carried their burden of sorrow. It gives us special happiness that they should get rid of these shackles. I should like to congratulate even the colonial powers who, at last, and to some extent, have helped them in this process.

### PROBLEMS OF PEACE

I HAVE LISTENED attentively and with respect to many of the speeches made here, and sometimes I have felt as if I was being buffeted by the icy winds of the cold war. Coming from a warm country, I have shivered occasionally at these cold blasts.

Speaking here in this assembly chamber, an old memory comes back to me. In the fateful summer of 1938, I was a visitor at a meeting of the League of Nations in Geneva. Hitler was advancing then and holding out threats of war. There was mobilization in many parts of Europe, and the tramp of armed men was being heard. Even so, the League of Nations appeared to be unconcerned and discussed all manner of

subjects, except the most vital subject of the day. The war had not started then. A year later it descended upon the world with all its thunder and destructive fury. After many years of carnage, the war ended, and a new age—the atomic age—was ushered in by the terrible experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Fresh from these horrors, the minds of men turned to thoughts of peace, and there was a passionate desire to put an end to war itself. The United Nations took birth on a note of high idealism embodied in the noble wording of the Charter. But there was also a realization of the state of the post-war world as it was. Therefore, provision was made in the structure of the organization to balance certain conflicting urges. There were permanent members of the Security Council and there was provision for unanimity amongst the great powers. All this was not very logical. But it represented certain realities of the world as it was, and because of this, we accepted them.

At that time, large areas in Asia and even more so in Africa were not represented in the United Nations and they were under colonial domination. Since then the colonial part of the world has shrunk greatly, and we now welcome here many countries from Africa in their new freedom. The United Nations has become progressively more representative. But we must remember that, even now, it is not fully so. Colonialism still has its strong footholds in some parts of the world, and racialism and racial domination are still prevalent, more especially in Africa.

During these past fifteen years, the United Nations has often been criticized for its structure and for some of its activities. These criticisms have had some justification behind them. But, looking at the broad picture, I think we can definitely say that the United Nations has amply justified its existence and repeatedly prevented the recurrent crises from developing into war. It has played a great role, and it is a little difficult now to think of this troubled world without the U.N. If it had defects, they lay in the world situation itself which inevitably it mirrored. If there had been no United Nations today, our first task would be to create something of

that kind. I should like, therefore, to pay my tribute to the work of the United Nations as a whole, even though I might criticize some aspect of it from time to time.

The structure of the United Nations, when it started, was weighted in favour of Europe and the Americas. It did not seem to us to be fair to the countries of Asia and Africa. But we appreciated the difficulties of the situation and did not press for any changes. With the growth of the United Nations and more countries coming in, its structure today has become still more unbalanced. Even so, we wish to proceed slowly and with agreement and not to press for any change which would involve an immediate amendment of the Charter and the raising of heated controversies.

Unfortunately, we live in a split world which is constantly coming up against the basic assumptions of the United Nations. We have to bear with this and try to move even more forward to the conception of full co-operation between nations. That co-operation does not and must not mean any domination of one country by another, any coercion or compulsion forcing a country to line up with another country. Each country has something to give and something to take from others. The moment coercion is exerted on a country, not only is its freedom impaired but its growth suffers.

We have to acknowledge that there is great diversity in the world and that this variety is good and is to be encouraged, so that each country may grow and its creative impulse might have full play in accordance with its own genius. Hundreds and thousands of years of history have conditioned us in our respective countries, and our roots go deep down into the soil. If these roots are pulled out, we wither. If these roots remain strong and we allow the winds from four quarters to blow in upon us, they will yield branch and flower and fruit.

Many of the speakers from this forum have surveyed the world scene and spoken on a variety of problems. I would like to concentrate on what I consider the basic problem of all. My mind is naturally filled with problems of my own country and our passionate desire to develop and to put an end to the poverty and low standards of living which have been a curse to hundreds of millions of our people. To that end we are

labouring, as indeed other underdeveloped countries are doing. Even so, there is something else which we consider is of greater importance. That is peace. Without peace all our dreams vanish and are reduced to ashes. The Charter of the United Nations declares our determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours.

The main purpose of the United Nations is to build up a world without war, a world based on the co-operation of nations and peoples. It is not merely a world where war is kept in check by a balancing of armed forces. It is much deeper than that. It is a world from which the major causes of war have been removed with social structures built up which further peaceful co-operation within a nation as well as between nations.

In the preamble of the constitution of UNESCO it is stated that war begins in the minds of men. That is essentially true; and ultimately it is necessary to bring about the change in our minds and to remove fears and apprehensions, hatreds and suspicions. Disarmament is a part of this process, for it will create an atmosphere of co-operation. But it is only a step towards our objective, a part of the larger efforts to rid the world of war and the causes of war.

In the present context, however, disarmament assumes a very special importance for us, overriding all other issues. For many years past, there have been talks on disarmament and some progress has undoubtedly been made in so far as the plans and proposals are concerned. Still we find that the race of armaments continues, as also the efforts to invent ever more powerful engines of destruction. If even a small part of these efforts was directed to the search for peace, probably the problem of disarmament would have been solved by this time.

Apart from the moral imperative of peace, every practical consideration leads us to that conclusion. For, as everyone knows, the choice today in this nuclear age is one of utter annihilation and destruction of civilization or of some way to have peaceful co-existence between nations. There is no middle way. If war is an abomination and an ultimate crime



which has to be avoided, we must fashion our minds and policies accordingly. There may be risks, but the greatest risk is to allow the present dangerous drift to continue. In order to achieve peace we have to develop a climate of peace and tolerance and to avoid speech and action which tend to increase fear and hatred.

It may not be possible to reach full disarmament in one step, though every step should be conditioned to that end. Much ground has already been covered in the discussions on disarmament. But the sands of time run out, and we dare not play about with this issue or delay its consideration. This, indeed, is the main duty of the United Nations today and if it fails in this, the United Nations fails in its main purpose.

We live in an age of great revolutionary changes brought about by the advance of science and technology. Therein lies the hope for the world and also the danger of sudden death. Because of these advances, the time we have for controlling the forces of destruction is strictly limited.

In the context of things as they are today, the great nations, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, hold the key to war and peace. Theirs is a great responsibility. But every country, big or small, is concerned in this matter of peace and war and, therefore, every country must shoulder its responsibility and work to this end. In order to deal with these issues effectively, we have to take earnest and impersonal views. It is only the United Nations as a whole that can ultimately solve these problems. Therefore, while all efforts towards disarmament must be welcomed, the United Nations should be closely associated with such efforts.

The question of disarmament has been considered at various levels. There is the question of general disarmament, and of the ending of test explosions of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. So far as test explosions are concerned, considerable progress has been made in the discussions of the committee which has been meeting in Geneva. Indeed, it would appear that an agreement has been reached on many basic issues and only a little more effort is needed to complete this agreement. I suggest that a final agreement on this subject should be reached as early as possible. This is not, strictly

speaking, disarmament, but undoubtedly any such agreement will bring a large measure of relief to the world. Disarmament must include the prohibition of the manufacture, storage and use of weapons of mass destruction, as well as the progressive limitation of conventional weapons.

It is admitted that disarmament should take place in such stages as to maintain broadly the balance of armed power. It is only on this basis that success can be achieved and this pervading sense of fear countered. It must also be clearly understood that disarmament and a machinery for control must go together, and neither of these can be taken up singly.

A proposal has been made that the question of disarmament should be referred to a committee of experts. In fact, experts have been considering this matter during the past years, and we have had the advantage of their views. A reference to a committee of experts should not lead to a postponement of the major issue. Any such delay may well be disastrous. Possibly, while the major issues are being considered by the United Nations Commission or other committees, a reference of any special aspect might be made to the experts. What is important is that the United Nations, at the present juncture, should ensure that there is adequate machinery for promoting disarmament and that this machinery should function continuously.

The fear of surprise attacks or accidental happenings leading to dangerous developments is undoubtedly present in the existing situation. The best way to deal with this fear is to reduce international tension and create an atmosphere which will make it very difficult for any surprise attack to take place. In addition, such other steps as may be considered necessary for prevention of surprise attacks should be taken. If there is an agreement on the stoppage of nuclear tests and use of carriers, immediately danger from surprise attacks will be greatly lessened.

While disarmament is by far the most urgent problem and brooks no delay, we have to face today a situation in Africa, in the Congo, which has led the United Nations to assume heavy and novel responsibilities. Everyone present here, I am sure, warmly welcomes the coming of independence to many

parts of Africa, to many peoples there who have suffered untold agony for ages past. We wish them well, and the United Nations has shown its readiness to help them in various ways.

There are three aspects of this African problem: first, full implementation of the independence and freedom that have been achieved; secondly, liberation of those countries in Africa which are still under colonial domination. This has become an urgent task. Today some of these countries are almost cut off from the outside world, and even news is not allowed to reach us. From such accounts as we have, the fate of the people in these countries is even worse than that in the other countries of Africa. Thirdly, there is the question of some countries in Africa which are independent but where that freedom is confined to a minority, and where the great majority have no share in it and, indeed, are suppressed politically, socially and racially in defiance of everything that the United Nations and the world community stand for. Racialism and the doctrine of a master race dominating over others can be tolerated no longer and can only lead to vast racial conflicts.

The recent developments in Africa have indicated the great danger of delay in dealing with these problems. It is not possible any longer to maintain colonial domination in any of the countries, and I think it is the duty and basic responsibility of the United Nations to expedite their freedom. There is a tremendous ferment all over the continent of Africa. This has to be recognized and appreciated and met with foresight and wisdom.

The question of the Republic of the Congo has especially come before us. The first thing that strikes one is the utter failure of a colonial system which left the Congo in its present state. Long years of colonial rule resulted in extracting vast wealth from that country for the enrichment of the colonial power, while the people of the country remained utterly poor and backward. The situation there is a complicated and frequently changing one, and it is not always easy to know what is happening. Disruptive forces have been let loose and have been encouraged by people who do not wish this newly independent Congo well. Some footholds of the old colonialism

are still engaged in working to this end. It is an encouragement to the disruption of the State. We must realize that it is essential to maintain the integrity of the Congo, for if there is disintegration of the State, that is bound to lead to internal civil wars on a large scale. There will be no peace in the Congo except on the basis of the integrity of the State. Foreign countries must particularly avoid any interference in its internal affairs or encouragement of one faction against another.

The role of the United Nations is a mediatory one, to reconcile and help in the proper functioning of the Central Government. Help in the development of the Congo is again a tremendous and long-term problem. Ultimately, it is the people of the Congo who will have to produce their own leadership, whether it is good or bad. Leadership cannot be imposed, and any attempt to do so will lead to conflict. The United Nations obviously cannot act all the time as policemen, nor should any outside power intervene.

There is an elected parliament in the Congo, though it does not appear to be functioning. It should be the function of the United Nations to help the country's parliament to meet and function so that out of its deliberations the problem of the Congo may be dealt with by the people themselves. The decisions must be those of parliament as representing the people of the Congo, and not of others. The functioning of parliament may itself lead to the ironing out of internal differences.

I hope that it will be possible soon for the Congo to take its place in this Assembly. The Security Council has repeatedly laid stress on Belgian military personnel leaving the Congo. These decisions have apparently not been given full effect to. This is highly undesirable. It seems to me of great importance, both in view of past history and present conditions, that every type of military or semi-military personnel of Belgium should leave the Congo. The General Assembly might well consider sending a delegation to the Congo to find out what foreign troops or other personnel, apart from those sent on behalf of the United Nations, are still there, and how far they are interfering in local affairs.

Recently an emergency session of the General Assembly considered the situation in the Congo and made certain suggestions. The resolution of the emergency session has rightly indicated the broad lines of approach and the basic principles laid down in it should be implemented. The problem of the development of a huge country has also become partly the responsibility of the United Nations. These responsibilities cannot be shirked, and it may have to be considered how best to shoulder these responsibilities.

Two aspects have to be borne in mind. Broad policies in these grave matters must be laid down by the General Assembly or by the Security Council. In so far as executive action is concerned, it would not be desirable for the executive to be weakened when frequent and rapid decisions have to be made. That would mean an abdication of the responsibilities undertaken by the United Nations. If the executive itself is split and pulls in different directions, it will not be able to function adequately or with speed. For that reason, the executive should be given authority to act within the terms of directions issued. At the same time, the executive has to keep in view all the time the impact of various forces in the world. The Secretary-General might well consider what organizational steps should be taken to deal adequately with this novel situation.

It has been suggested that some structural changes should take place in the United Nations. Probably some changes would be desirable because of the emergence of many independent countries in Asia and Africa. But any attempt at bringing about these changes by an amendment of the Charter at the present juncture is likely to raise many controversial questions and thus add greatly to the difficulties we face. It should be possible for us even within the terms of the Charter to adapt the United Nations machinery to meet situations as they arise, more especially in view of the increasing responsibilities of the United Nations.

If, as I earnestly hope, disarmament makes progress, the United Nations will come into another domain of vast responsibility which will have to be discharged. Possibly, special commissions working under the umbrella of the United

Nations might be charged with this task.

I do not propose to deal with many other matters here. But, in view of a controversy that is at present going on in the General Assembly, I should like to refer briefly to the question of proper representation of China in the United Nations. For a number of years India has brought this issue before the United Nations because we have felt not only that it is improper for that great and powerful country to remain unrepresented, but that this has an urgent bearing on all world problems and especially those of disarmament. We hold that all countries must be represented in the U.N. We have welcomed during this session many new countries. It appears most extraordinary that any argument should be advanced to keep out China and to give the seat meant for China to those who certainly do not and cannot represent China. It is well known that we Indians have had, and are having, a controversy with the People's Government of China over our northern frontier. In spite of that controversy we continue to feel that proper representation of the People's Republic in the U.N. is essential; the longer we delay it, the more harm we cause to the U.N. and to the consideration of the major problems we have before us.

In this connection, I should like to mention another country—Mongolia. When we are rightly admitting so many countries to the U.N., why should Mongolia be left out? What wrong has it done, what violation of the Charter? Here are a quiet and peaceful people working hard for their progress, and it seems to me utterly wrong from any point of principle to exclude them from this great organization. India has a special sentiment in regard to Mongolia, because our relations with that country go back into the distant past of more than fifteen hundred years. Even now there are many evidences of those old contacts and friendly relations between the two countries. I would earnestly recommend that Mongolia should be accepted in this World Assembly of Nations.

There is one other matter to which I should like to refer. That is Algeria. It has been a pain and a torment to many of us in Asia, in Africa and possibly elsewhere, to witness this continuing tragedy of a brave people fighting for their

freedom. Many arguments have been advanced and many difficulties pointed out. But the basic fact is that a people have struggled continuously for years at tremendous sacrifice and against heavy odds to attain independence. Once or twice it appeared that the struggle might end satisfactorily in freedom by exercise of the principle of self-determination. But the moments slipped by, and the tragedy continued. I am convinced that every country in Asia and Africa and, I believe, many countries in other continents also are deeply concerned over this matter and hope earnestly that this terrible war will end soon bringing freedom to the Algerian people. This is an urgent problem to which the United Nations must address itself in order to bring about an early solution.

I do believe that the vast majority of the people in every country want us to labour for peace and to succeed. Whether we are big or small, we have to face big issues vital to the future of humanity. Everything else is of lesser importance than this major question. I am absolutely convinced that we shall never settle this question by war or by a mental approach which envisages war and prepares for it.

I am equally convinced that if we aim at right ends, right means must be employed. Good will not emerge out of evil methods. That was the lesson which our great leader Gandhi taught us, and though we in India have failed in many ways in following his advice, something of his message still clings to our minds and hearts. In ages long past a great son of India, the Buddha, said that the only real victory was one in which all were equally victorious and there was defeat for no one. In the world today that is the only practical victory. Any other way will lead to disaster.

It is, therefore, this real victory of peace in which all are winners that I would like this great Assembly to keep before its mind and to endeavour to achieve.

## FIVE-POWER RESOLUTION

MR. PRESIDENT, two or three days ago, I presented on behalf of Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and India, a resolution to the General Assembly. That resolution is a simple one and requires little argument to support it. It does not seek to pre-judge any issue, or to bring pressure to bear on any country or individual. There is no cynicism in it. The main purpose of the resolution is to help avoid a deadlock in the international situation. Every delegate present here knows how unsatisfactory that situation is today, and how gradually every door and window for a discussion of vital issues is being closed and bolted. As the resolution says, we are deeply concerned with the recent deterioration in international relations which threatens the world with grave consequences.

There can be no doubt that people everywhere in the world look to this Assembly to take some step to help to ease this situation and lessen world tension. If this Assembly is unable to take that step, there will be utter disappointment everywhere. Not only will the deadlock continue, but there will be a drift in a direction from which it will become increasingly difficult to turn back. This Assembly cannot allow itself to be paralysed in a matter of such vital importance. Responsibility for this deadlock has to be shared by all of us. But, in the circumstances as they exist today, a great deal depends upon two mighty nations, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and if even a small step can be taken by them, the world will heave a sigh of relief.

We do not expect that some solution is likely to emerge from a renewal of contacts between these two countries. We do not underrate the difficulties. Realizing all these and after giving a great deal of thought to these matters, we decided to share our apprehensions with this Assembly, and to suggest a step which will undoubtedly help to ease the tension. The resolution has been placed before this Assembly not to add to the controversies already existing or to embarrass anyone.



but solely with the desire, which is anxiously felt, that something must be done. We cannot meet here in this Assembly and sit helplessly watching the world drift in a direction which can only end in a catastrophe.

Last night I received a letter from the President of the United States in which he was good enough to deal with this resolution. I presume that the other sponsors of the resolution have also received a similar reply. I am grateful to the President for writing to us in reply immediately after receiving our communication. Although the letter does not indicate that any contacts such as we had recommended are likely to take place in the near future, the President has not wholly rejected the idea. The door is still open for consideration of the idea. The President has expressed his deep anxiety to help in a lessening of international tensions. He has pointed out that "the chief problems in the world today are not due to differences between the Soviet Union and the United States alone and, therefore, are not possible of solution on a bilateral basis. The questions which are disrupting the world at the present time are of immediate and vital concern to other nations as well."

May I express respectfully my complete agreement with what the President has said? We are convinced that these great questions cannot be dealt with on a bilateral basis or even by a group of countries. They are of intimate and vital concern to the entire world and to all those who have gathered here from the four corners of the earth. It was because of this feeling that some of us ventured to put the resolution before this Assembly. If the matter is of concern only to the two countries, perhaps no necessity would have arisen for us to raise it here. Nor did we think that a renewal of contacts would lead to some magical solution. A solution will come after long and arduous labour in which many countries participate. But we did think that in the present situation of dangerous drift, even a small approach on behalf of the two great countries would make a difference and might mark a turn of the tide.

Oppressed by the growing anger and bitterness in international relations, we wanted to find some way out so that

further consideration might be given to these problems. We have suggested no remedy nor any particular solution in the resolution. But we did and still feel that the General Assembly should consider this problem and try its utmost to find a way to remove the new barriers that have arisen.

As the President of the United States has rightly stated, the importance of these matters is such as goes beyond the personal or official relations between any two individuals. We are dealing with the future of humanity and no effort which might perhaps improve the situation should be left out. It is with this intention that we put forward the resolution as a part of the efforts which should be made to open the door for future consultations.

I earnestly trust, and appeal to the Assembly to adopt this resolution unanimously at an early date. Enveloped and bedevilled by the cold war and all its progeny, the world is faced with problems awaiting urgent solution, and I have ventured to add my voice in appeal.

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I SHOULD LIKE, right at the beginning, to say that I welcome the amendment which was proposed to the draft resolution by the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic. The amendment makes no effective change, but I think it is a happier way of putting forward the idea contained in the resolution.

When I had the privilege to put forward the resolution from five nations before this Assembly, I expressed the hope that it would be accepted unanimously. It did not seem to me reasonably possible that any member of this Assembly could object to the resolution. It was straightforward. It contained nothing in it against any individual or this group or that group. But it did represent a strong and passionate desire that things should get moving, and that this Assembly should not sit paralysed, as if it could not act. Therefore, it was with

Speech in the U.N. General Assembly on the amendment proposed by Australia to the five-nation draft resolution, New York, October 5, 1960

considerable surprise that I received the paper containing an amendment on behalf of Australia.

I read it with care. I found some difficulty in understanding it. And the more I read it the more surprised I was that any member of this Assembly should have put this forward as an amendment. I venture to place before this Assembly my reasons for this.

First of all, it seemed to me, quite patently, that it had nothing to do by way of amending the proposition which we had put forward. It is not an amendment. I do not perhaps know the rules of this Assembly, but it is not an amendment. It may be, of course, a separate resolution in some form or another, and might have been brought forward and considered by this House. If it was so considered, I would have had much to say about it and against it. The Prime Minister of Australia in his speech made it quite clear that it was not an amendment, although he might call it so. Therefore, I could not quite understand what meaning lay behind this amendment.

I have the greatest respect for the Prime Minister of Australia, more especially for his keen mind and ability. I wondered if that keen mind and ability had not tried to cover up, with a jumble of words, something which had no meaning at all—or the wrong meaning. I was particularly keen and anxious to listen to the Prime Minister of Australia in the hope that he might throw some light on this aspect of the question which I had failed to understand. I listened to him with great care. The more I listened, the more confused I grew and the more I realized that there was no substantive idea in this motion, but just a dislike of what the five-nation resolution had suggested.

He stated clearly that he dissented from the last paragraph of the resolution—a very innocuous one, nevertheless with very considerable meaning. In fact, the whole resolution led upto this paragraph, the rest being a preamble. Therefore, he dissented from the very basis of the resolution. Coming forward with his amendment, he said that the effect of the resolution, if carried, would be undesirable. I wondered if I had understood him correctly or if I had made some mistake

in regard to what he said. Why, I ask the Prime Minister, from any point of view, or from any approach, could the passage of the resolution possibly be undesirable? I have given thought to this matter, but I am quite unable to understand his reasoning. Therefore, it must be undesirable from some point of view of which I am not aware and which had nothing to do with the resolution. That is the conclusion I arrived at.

I would put it to this distinguished Assembly, with respect and without meaning offence, that this is a rather trivial way of dealing with this not only important question but vital question which is shaking the world—the question of world conflict and how to avoid it—by calling it an amendment of the resolution. I submit that we are discussing very important matters, affecting this Assembly and the world.

The Prime Minister, in his argument, talked about a conference. Why does the resolution suggest a meeting or a conference? I would beg him to read the resolution again, because he has failed to understand it. It does not necessarily suggest a conference or a meeting. It suggests a renewal of contacts.

Again, he asked, “Why should two people meet? Why should not four meet? Why dismiss the United Kingdom and France? Why omit them from summit talks?” These are quotations which I took down when he was speaking. “Why all this?” he asked. Well, simply because there is no “Why?” about it, because nobody is dismissing or pushing out anybody, or suggesting it. He has missed the point of the draft resolution and has considered, possibly, that there is some kind of a secret motive behind this. I really regret that any such idea should have gone abroad.

The draft resolution was put forward in all good faith for the purposes named in it, and to suspect it of some secret device to push out somebody or not to pay adequate respect to some country is not fair on the part of the honourable gentleman. Indeed, I greatly regret to say that the Prime Minister of Australia has done very little justice to himself in proposing this amendment or in making the speech which he did. I am sure that this Assembly will not look at this matter from the superficial point of view which the Prime

Minister put forward, but will consider it from the basic point of view which is of the highest importance to this Assembly and to the world.

Let us look at this amendment. The wording is interesting. In the second paragraph it says:

“Recalling that a conference between the President of the United States of America, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the President of the French Republic and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland was arranged to take place in Paris on 17th May 1960,”—

now note the words—

“in order that these four leaders should examine matters of particular and major concern for their four nations.”

It is a private matter between the four nations, according to the Prime Minister of Australia. What has this Assembly to do with it? Then, later, this amendment says:

“Believing that much benefit for the world could arise from a co-operative meeting of the heads of Government of these four nations in relation to those problems which particularly concern them...”

This is a very extraordinary idea to put before this Assembly—that is, these so-called summit meetings and the rest are private concerns of the four eminent dignitaries, heads of States or Prime Ministers of these four countries. Where does this Assembly come in? Where do all of us who happen to be in the outer darkness come in?

The Prime Minister of Australia then said that we, the sponsors of the draft resolution, had fallen into some communist trap which was aimed at describing the world as being divided up, or as dealing with two great protagonists and ignoring the world.

What the communist technique may be in regard to this matter, I am not aware. There may or may not be one; I am not particularly concerned with such techniques. But it seems to me that the Australian Prime Minister's technique is obvious. It is: “There are these four powers”—whom, of course, we respect and honour—“so leave it to them. What

business has this Assembly to deal with these matters?" This is obvious and the amendment says so. Now, surely, this kind of idea or approach cannot, should not and must not be accepted.

When we suggested that the distinguished heads of the two great States should renew contacts, it was not with an idea that they should discuss the affairs of the world and finalize them. I personally would not agree to a finalization of these matters between two powers or four powers or ten powers. Only this Assembly should finalize them. But it is true that while dealing with these tremendous questions it is convenient and desirable for matters to be discussed in small groups and—more particularly for a question such as disarmament—by some of the countries which have most to disarm. Most of the people sitting here have practically nothing to disarm although we are greatly interested in the disarmament of others so that war may not break out and destroy the world.

Therefore, it is right that two powers or four powers or ten committees or commissions may consider these matters quietly, and from a constructive point of view. That is all right. But, in a matter of this magnitude, no group of powers, however big, can dispose of the destiny of the world. However, that appears to be the idea behind the mind of the Prime Minister of Australia. Because he has that idea, he was somewhat irritated that only two powers should do so. It is not my intention that any two powers, or four or six or more, should do so. Therefore, I should like to disabuse his mind of the wrong opinion which he has.

My difficulty in dealing with this amendment is that it proceeds, I imagine, from some kind of a basic suspicion that there is a trick in the draft resolution. The Prime Minister is not able to put his finger on it, but he thinks that there must be a trick because the idea contained in the resolution has not come from him or his group. Personally I am rather innocent of the working of this Assembly. But certainly I can assure the Prime Minister with all earnestness that there is no trickery in the draft resolution. However, there is something which I would like him to appreciate, and that is that there

is a passion in this draft resolution. It is not a question of words. The Prime Minister said that he prayed daily for the avoidance of armed conflict. I was happy to hear that. I earnestly hope that his prayers as well as the prayers of all of us will have effect. Even prayers require some action. We meet here not merely to pray but to initiate action and to give a lead to the world by inducing, urging and sometimes pushing people to act in a particular way.

The draft resolution that we ventured to put before this Assembly represented that passion and conviction that something or the beginning of something must be initiated which may take effect later on. Above all, it seemed to us that for this great organization to meet, with members coming from the four corners of the earth, and to avoid discussing this matter was a confession of helplessness and of paralysis. I submit that it would be an intolerable position that this great Assembly could not deal with these matters because some people were angry with each other. Anger may be justified but should not override the consideration of major issues which we have to deal with. We realize that the resolution which we put before this Assembly cannot lead to the path of a solution or even to a basic consideration of these problems. But what we were concerned with was the hope that this glacier that had come to surround us, as it were, might be pushed a little or might be made to melt here and there, so that in the future discussions could take place at suitable times. At the present moment they cannot. The United States of America is engaged in a great election and I quite realize that it is not convenient for it to enter into these basic talks. But if nothing is done to arrest the process of deterioration in international relations, it can become even more difficult at a later stage to have these talks. That is a fact which is to be borne in mind. Therefore, we suggested that this small but highly important step might be taken as an urgent step towards the renewal of contacts.

We think we were perfectly right. On the other hand, let us consider what the effect would be if the advice of the Prime Minister of Australia were to be followed. It would mean—it says so quite clearly—that this renewal of contacts

would not take place, that the negative view prevails and that we should wait for some future occasion for some kind of summit conference to be held. I am all in favour of a summit conference, but I realize and this Assembly realizes that it cannot be held in the next few months. Therefore, we should have to wait and spend our time, presumably in daily prayer that this might take place and that war might be avoided.

I submit that this position is not only a completely untenable position, but it verges on absurdity. I am surprised that a man of the high ability of the Prime Minister of Australia should put this idea forward. I regret to say that this amendment does have a tinge of the cold war approach. It is obvious that if we are to seek solutions for these mighty problems it cannot be through such approaches. We have had plenty of charges and counter-charges, accusations and counter-accusations and perhaps we shall continue to have these. But the fact remains that if we are to deal with serious questions the approach has to be different. We have to recognize facts as they are and deal with the problems as they are.

I am anxious, therefore, that the resolution which has been sponsored by the five nations should be passed unanimously, or, if not unanimously, nearly unanimously. Not to pass it would be a dangerous thing from the point of view of the objectives for which the United Nations stands, and from the point of view of creating some kind of a disengagement, the beginnings of a *detente* indicating some movement in the right direction. It would be dangerous, harmful and wholly unjustifiable not to pass it. Therefore, the resolution should be passed. I hope that the Prime Minister of Australia will realize that his amendment is not what he apparently imagined it to be and that it is harmful. The amendment would mean that we should let months pass and that subsequently these four great countries can meet together and possibly renew their charges and counter-charges. That position is not good enough. Even we of the humbler countries, without vast armies and nuclear weapons, may sometimes unburden our hearts; if we cannot unburden our hearts and our minds in this Assembly, what are we to do? Are we to be shepherded into this group or



that group, and not allowed to express even our innermost feelings? I do submit that this kind of approach would not be right.

Therefore, I beg again to press for the passage of this draft resolution, if not unanimously, nearly unanimously.

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MR. PRESIDENT, you were good enough to allow the sponsors of the draft resolution an opportunity to consult amongst themselves on the position that has been created because of certain changes which have been made in the draft. We have consulted amongst ourselves and with many others who have supported the resolution. We feel that the changes made are of such a character as to make a difference to the purpose of the draft resolution. These, according to our thinking, not only make a part of the resolution contrary to fact, but also make an essential change which takes away from the main purpose underlying the draft resolution.

The resolution was drafted under great stress of feeling, almost of oppression, at what it described as "the recent deterioration in international relations". All over the world people will be looking to this august Assembly to indicate some step to prepare the way for an easing of world tension. Therefore, the resolution referred to "the grave and urgent responsibility that rests on the United Nations to initiate helpful efforts". As the draft resolution has now been changed, it seems to us that that essential urgency has gone, and the passionate feeling that something should be done has faded away in the wording of the resolution as it is. Further, something is being said in it which is not true to fact, that is, that these two great countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, should renew their contacts. There has in fact been no break in those contacts politically, diplomatically or otherwise. Therefore, it is not a correct statement. It does not seem proper that this Assembly should be

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Speech in the U.N. General Assembly while announcing the withdrawal of the draft resolution, New York, October 5, 1960

responsible for a statement which is so patently incorrect. At any rate, the sponsors of the draft resolution do not wish to associate themselves with such a statement. This is a relatively minor matter. The major point is that the resolution as it stands now lacks that sense of passion and energy and dynamism which we thought the situation required.

We have had considerable discussion over procedural matters. As has become evident during these discussions, high questions of policy lay behind those procedural matters. We held certain opinions about the procedural matters also, but I shall not refer to them. It transpired throughout this late hour in the evening that there were differences of opinion on basic matters and those differences were sought to be brought about in these changes which now form part of the draft resolution. Therefore, according to us, the purpose for which the sponsors had submitted the resolution is not being served. The resolution, which has now been changed, may indeed create an impression of these matters being taken up by this Assembly without that sense of urgency which we thought was necessary.

From another point of view, all this discussion has seemed to us to raise major moral issues. I shall not go into them in any detail, but we do consider that the resolution did involve a moral issue and that the way it has been changed has deprived it of that moral approach.

Because of all these reasons, the sponsors of the resolution feel that they cannot, after these changes, associate themselves any longer with the resolution as it is now. Its sponsors are unable to support it and, therefore, I would like to withdraw the resolution.

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**D**URING THE DISCUSSIONS in the House, reference has been made to the five-power resolution which we had sponsored in the United Nations General Assembly. An hon. Member opposite spoke in terms of subdued enthusiasm about

Mr. Menzies's amendment to the resolution. So far as the General Assembly was concerned, there were four, may be five, who voted for the amendment. Even the closest colleagues and allies of Mr. Menzies did not vote for it. It is, therefore, worth considering that something was essentially wrong either in the amendment or in the context of it that it got so little support. It was said that this voting was quite a record in the United Nations.

Our idea in sponsoring the resolution was not that the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. should discuss international problems or solve them, but help to bring an element of flexibility in the situation which could be taken advantage of at a later stage. The American people being naturally very angry at the things which had happened at the summit meeting, and the Russian people also being very angry at some things that had happened, it becomes beyond the power of even their leaders to go against public opinion when so strongly entrenched in a passionate attitude. It is sometimes dangerous when national passions tend to petrify. The purpose of the resolution was to draw attention to this aspect. The resolution achieved at least partly the object aimed at. If not, the situation would have gone on without any shaking being given to it. The sponsors of the resolution thought that if the situation was left as it was, it would become more and more rigid, making it difficult to move in the future. So, after consultations, we put forward the resolution, which I thought quite honestly was not a controversial resolution, even if not approved wholly. It should be mentioned that even this resolution got a majority in the Assembly. According to the Chairman, the resolution required a two-thirds majority and so in that sense it did not succeed. After all this had happened, the general opinion not only of the delegates in the Assembly and others but of the noted influential newspapers in the United States was that those who opposed the resolution had not been wise and that it did not serve their purpose. These reactions should be taken into account. I think the resolution achieved its purpose quite well.

## **SOUTH AFRICA LEAVES THE COMMONWEALTH**

**T**HE RECENT MEETING of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in London was rather an unusual one; at any rate, it was not the normal meeting which is held to consider various problems in which the Commonwealth is interested. It was specially convened to consider specific problems like disarmament and, to some extent, the future of the United Nations. As it happened, when it met there were one or two very important and urgent matters like the situation in Africa and more particularly in the Congo which were considered at some length.

Although these problems were considered rather fully, throughout this meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, the issue which seemed to overshadow the proceedings was the question of South Africa and the racial policy followed by that country. We have discussed this matter on many earlier occasions, and reference has been made to it almost every year in our debates on foreign affairs. The matter has also been raised annually in the United Nations on behalf of India and other countries, and resolutions have been passed there by overwhelming majorities. We have been interested in this for a long time past. In fact, it is well to remember that it was in South Africa, fifty years ago, that our leader Mahatma Gandhi started his first campaign against racial inequality and racial domination and suppression. Ever since our independence, our interest in the matter has grown, so also that of other countries. Originally we were interested because of the large number of people of Indian descent there. Apart from that, racial inequality is not a mere internal question of a nation. It raises international issues.

This matter came up in a particular way at the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. The South African Government have recently had a referendum on the issue of a republic and by a small majority it has been decided to have a republican form of government there. The Prime Minister of South Africa made a statement before the Commonwealth

Prime Ministers' Conference informing them of the result of the referendum and requesting that the South African Union might continue in the Commonwealth in spite of becoming a republic. We could take no exception to any country becoming a republic; we ourselves are a republic and we approve of the republican form of government everywhere, but because this application was made, the allied question of racial relations in South Africa arose and it was discussed. Even the Prime Minister of South Africa agreed to its being taken up. So, while we had no objection to a republic being taken into the Commonwealth, many of us laid stress on the incompatibility of any country being in the Commonwealth which followed racial policies like the South African Union Government. I would add here that the main thing is that in South Africa this is the official policy; it is not the failure of an official policy. The apartheid policy of suppression, separation and segregation is the official, declared policy of the Government there. This matter was discussed and the incompatibility became quite obvious to all. It became a question, practically speaking, of whether the South African Union Government should continue in the Commonwealth or whether a number of other countries should continue in the Commonwealth. As a result of this, the South African Prime Minister decided to withdraw his application for continuing membership of the Commonwealth and this was agreed to. South Africa will cease to be a member of the Commonwealth as soon as the South African Union becomes a republic, that is, on May 31.

This was an unusual and far-reaching decision for the Commonwealth organization to take. It is an important one, and I think that it has strengthened the Commonwealth. This very tenuous and vague association has developed certain basic formulae on which it stands and one of them is equal treatment of races, equal opportunities, no racial suppression and certainly no segregation. I might add that Mr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of the South African Government, in presenting his case stoutly denied that there was any racial suppression but he based his case on what he called separate development of different races. He stressed that the South African Govern-

ment's policy was separate development and not suppression, allowing different races to develop equally. Of course, that does not happen there. He might almost have gone a step further, I thought then, and said that this policy was one of peaceful co-existence, but perhaps that did not strike Mr. Verwoerd at that time.

I think this decision of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting will have far-reaching effect on racial questions all over the world. At the same time, this mere fact shows the South African Government is going to continue this policy as it has been doing in the past. They may not call it apartheid in the future, and they have officially said that it shall not be called apartheid; nevertheless, it is one of segregation and suppression. This policy obviously is going to continue. In fact, it is because of that that this break or split came in the Commonwealth conference. If they had said that they would vary this policy even to a small extent, it would have had some effect on some members of the conference but they were completely rigid. They would not vary it or change it at all and they would hold on to it in its entirety. Therefore, it should be realized that the major problem remains. The fact that the Commonwealth has given its opinion rather forcibly against it is helpful, but it has not solved the question. It will, no doubt, come up before the United Nations as it has done annually, and the question may well arise as to what the United Nations should do about a country which violates the very constitution and Charter of the United Nations in regard to this vital matter.

## INTERVENTION IN CUBA

THE DEVELOPMENTS IN CUBA have obviously not only affected Cuba but affected the world situation. A dangerous situation has arisen there. Apart from what is

happening in Cuba, when two great powers issue statements which are of the nature of threats to each other and involve inevitably national prestige, the situation becomes very dangerous.

One fact is clear, and that is that some kind of invasion has taken place on Cuba from outside and that the invasion could only have taken place from the American mainland. It may be from some part of the United States, Central America or some other place but it is fairly well known that Cuban exiles had been collected in various places in Florida or possibly in Guatemala also or elsewhere, trained there and supplied with arms, and encouraged to go and invade Cuba. Even before the invasion took place, there were many references to it and pictures of their being trained etc. in the American press. If that is so, it does appear to be a case of intervention. In the recent statement issued by President Kennedy, he has stated very clearly that he would not permit an American armed intervention in Cuba on any account. That statement has to be welcomed but I find it a little difficult to understand the major difference between that type of intervention and an intervention of encouraging and supplying arms, maybe training Cuban exiles to go over and invade the island. It would be a bad precedent which, if followed elsewhere, would create international complications.

So far as India is concerned, we in common with a large number of other countries have recognized the Government of Cuba which is represented here in Delhi. Our Ambassador to Cuba, in fact, is the same person as our Ambassador to Washington. If there had been some kind of internal turmoil in Cuba it is none of our duty or anybody's duty to interfere in their difficulties. When force comes from outside, it does make a difference, and to encourage a force to come from outside does seem to us a kind of intervention which leads to difficulties and which may lead to any other party intervening also. Then it becomes an issue beyond that of the government of that particular island; it becomes a world issue. That is the grave danger that has arisen in Cuba.

We are naturally anxious to see that these matters do not lead to a tremendous increase of world tension. It is more

important for us to see that tensions come down. To some extent our position in regard to this issue is being clarified by our representatives at the U.N. We have also drawn the attention of the major powers concerned to this matter and to the anxieties we feel because we do think that this invasion and the manner in which it has taken place is a dangerous precedent which is bad for the future and is particularly harmful to international relations. I think perhaps it has immediately resulted in further difficulties in Laos when the Laotian issue was coming to some kind of a settlement. Therefore, we think this fact is a matter of the greatest import and of grave danger. We think that there should be no intervention from any side in Cuba, and that it should be left to work out its own destiny.

### U.N. ACTION IN THE CONGO

**T**HE HOUSE WILL REMEMBER that when troubles first arose in the Congo soon after independence, the then Prime Minister invited the United Nations to come and help them. That help was very badly needed even for the day-to-day activities of government. It was needed still more to maintain not only law and order but health and the normal activities of the country. Of course, the whole structure had completely collapsed immediately after independence as a result of the extraordinary developments that took place because of the attitude of the Belgian Government.

The Belgian Government, in its colonial days in the Congo, had built up—more than many other colonial countries—a good health system and some other social services, like a fairly good system of primary education—but nothing beyond primary education. In fact, it appears to have been their deliberate policy to prevent higher education so that, curiously enough, in the Congo today you find a fairly large



proportion of people who have got primary education—I think there are about 30,000 schools—but every single teacher of these schools was Belgian. So the sudden withdrawal of all these Belgian functionaries, whether it was in education, whether it was in health or whether it was in any other activity, left a complete vacuum. When the Belgians left, there was some trouble in the Congolese army and they demanded that the Belgian officers should withdraw. There was some violence on the part of the army. That did not last long but was rather exaggerated at the time.

Now the United Nations came in. In one of its earliest resolutions the Security Council decided that the Belgian military and para-military personnel should be withdrawn, that is, broadly Belgians should withdraw except probably those engaged in some social services or other essential services. Then all kinds of internal troubles and conflicts arose within the Congo, and it began to appear that outside powers were encouraging and helping the contestants for power there. Some sided with Mr. Lumumba who was the elected Prime Minister, some with President Kasavubu who was also elected and who later had apparently fallen out with the Prime Minister. Some definitely sided with Colonel Mobutu who emerged as the Army Chief. He turned against Prime Minister Lumumba, turned against even President Kasavubu, put an end to parliament, and in fact there was a *coup d'état* in which he had more or less captured power and said there would be no parliament at least for a long time. He set up a few senior students—the few students who had some university education in Belgium at the University of Louvainne—and called them Commissioners to carry on the government, while President Kasavubu also appointed, independently, another gentleman as Prime Minister, having dismissed or tried to dismiss Mr. Lumumba. All this produced a very conflicting situation in which authority was spread all over. Broadly speaking, the Congolese army which was to some extent under Colonel Mobutu's control was the authority. It was useful to Colonel Mobutu in suppressing his opponents, but was not helpful to him or to anybody in preserving law and order. In fact it was a most disorderly element in the situation and it was not under

a unified command. People looked at the constitution of the Congo and lawyers said that Mr. Lumumba still continued to be the Prime Minister in law even though he might be under some kind of detention.

When I was at the United Nations I made a suggestion—others did too—that in these circumstances in the Congo the only real authority which should decide finally should be parliament. It consisted of elected people from all over the Congo and they should meet; if they quarrelled in parliament, let them quarrel and decide. If they wanted to solve the confusion arising from two persons claiming to be Prime Minister and a third group calling themselves Commissioners and overriding the Prime Minister, who was to decide? President Kasavubu was also a legal entity.

Then President Kasavubu himself went to the United Nations. There was a very heated debate in the General Assembly as to whether he should be allowed to sit in the Assembly as representing the Congo. Only a few days before that there had been a proposal that a delegation of Afro-Asian countries should go from the Assembly, who under the Secretary-General's direction had formed themselves into an advisory committee on the Congo, and report. It had also been decided that until they reported, a discussion on the Congo should be postponed. But four or five days after that this question of President Kasavubu came up. After a debate which created a good deal of heat, President Kasavubu was accepted as the representative of the Congo by a majority. This rather put an end to the previous decision about the delegation going there, and so the process of some kind of conciliation, etc. envisaged in the Congo was hit on the head.

Then, Mr. Lumumba escaped from his place of detention, was later arrested and treated very brutally and is still in jail.

The position of the United Nations in the Congo meanwhile underwent a change. They became less and less effective and Colonel Mobutu became the most effective person, though not wholly so. They (the U.N.) could not do anything. The instructions that they got were that they must be completely neutral—whatever that might mean. Actually, this meant that while the killing of one group by the other took

place on a big scale in front of them, they looked on. So, from the point of view of law and order they had no position at all because of the instructions or the interpretations of the instructions of the Security Council. In effect, the Congo gradually began to disintegrate. There had been the Katanga province which had declared its independence under Mr. Tshombe, and now the Orientale province with Stanleyville as its capital also went adrift. In fact, it calls itself the Government of the whole country.

One major thing that has happened during these months is the return of Belgians in considerable numbers and with considerable authority, though not directly exercised. The persons whom they favour are Colonel Mobutu and Mr. Tshombe of Katanga and others. In fact, all these people have Belgian military advisers, civil advisers and other advisers. The Student College of Commissioners have all Belgian advisers, who, presumably, do all their work although in the name of the Commissioners. In effect, we have, in a different form, a return to the functioning of Belgians in the Congo in all fields.

All this jumble of circumstances has produced, therefore, an extraordinarily complicated and dangerous situation. Gradually the situation is becoming, as is said, something like the old Spanish situation when the Spanish civil war took place thirty years ago or so. Apart from this, some of the African countries—many of whom have got their contingent of forces there—do not accept Colonel Mobutu at all; they are in favour of Mr. Lumumba who is in prison. Some have withdrawn their forces, others may withdraw them later.

In spite of these difficulties, we have all along felt that if the United Nations fail in the Congo, it will be a disaster, not only for the Congo but for the world. If the U.N. cannot effectively deal with the situation, it would fade away in the Congo and its reputation will continue to suffer. The suggestion that we should withdraw our contingent has not been approved by us. The fact remains that under present conditions, our men, or any country's men there, are frequently insulted and manhandled by the Congolese soldiery under Colonel Mobutu. We have put up with the many difficulties

that face us, but I cannot, if our people are not treated properly and given opportunities to do the work for which they were sent, guarantee that the question will not arise whether it is worth-while keeping them there or not. Normally we would have withdrawn them but we have hesitated and we hesitate to do so because it would really mean the collapse of the United Nations' work there. It would mean most inevitably leaving the Congolese to fight it out amongst themselves, and it would also mean the intrusion of foreign powers with their troops and, therefore, war.

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FOR THE LAST many months, as the House very well knows, the situation in the Congo has been deteriorating. Throughout this period we have been drawing the attention of the countries concerned, and of the United Nations, towards the situation, and suggesting various steps and measures to be taken. All kinds of disgraceful things happened there and the plea was that the U.N. mandate, which was limited, prevented the U.N. from interfering. A great deal of resentment arose among those who had sent forces to the Congo at the request of the United Nations, and several countries even decided to withdraw their forces, because they did not agree with the policy that has been pursued by the United Nations or rather the absence of a policy, the passive inertness of the United Nations there. But it was not quite inert. The United Nations has done quite a fine piece of work in the field of feeding people and looking after them. But in the political field it had become very passive and its passivity naturally was all in favour of those people who had seized power and were exploiting it to their own advantage, more especially in Katanga and elsewhere.

If all the United Nations Forces are withdrawn from there, the United Nations ceases to function there and will withdraw itself. If that happens, the consequence will not

only be a continuing civil war but there would also be the danger of outside powers coming in in a big way to help their respective coteries or those whom they acknowledged, which would be a very serious thing. Also, such failure would redound to the great discredit of the United Nations and make it difficult for it to function in future in any like emergency.

Some time back, Mr. Lumumba, who was in some kind of detention in Leopoldville, escaped from there. He was captured by Colonel Mobutu's forces somewhere, brought back and put in a prison. A few days back he was removed from that prison to Katanga in spite of many protests, because the Katanga people were—rather Mr. Tshombe was—his bitterest enemy.

About this time the so-called Conciliation Commission went there, and everyone in the Commission agreed that to have any kind of conciliation their principal activity should be to meet Mr. Lumumba, because he was the person who counted most there, and he was a popular leader. The members of the Commission were not allowed to meet him and ultimately they were practically on the point of coming back before meeting him. Mr. Tshombe informed them—it is rather significant that they were informed through a Belgian officer or Belgian adviser of Mr. Tshombe—that they could not meet Mr. Lumumba. This was only a few days ago.

Then came the news of the escape of Mr. Lumumba. This news was given by the Katanga authorities. Very few people believed this. It was feared that this meant possibly some attempt at liquidating Mr. Lumumba and his advisers. Two or three days later it turned out to be true.

Now, there are many aspects to this tragedy. There is no doubt that Mr. Lumumba was murdered. The kind of explanation that the Katanga authorities have given is so extraordinary and so audacious that it surprises one that any of these people should have that audacity to say things; while completely disclaiming, rather indirectly, that they are responsible for the murder, they have done everything to make people suspect that they are directly responsible for it. It is interesting to note that they refuse even now to permit any inquiry. They refuse even to indicate where Mr. Lumumba

was murdered or to indicate where his grave is, lest, as they say, the place should become a place of pilgrimage. It shows what his bitterest enemies thought of Mr. Lumumba—that his grave would become a place of pilgrimage for the Congolese people. It would have become so because Mr. Lumumba, in a sense, was the founder of the national movement. It is not a very old, established movement but he was the founder and there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that whatever his failings or weaknesses may have been he was by far the most popular figure in the Congo not only among his own tribe but among others too. The tribal elements conflict with each other but among them he was the most popular figure. It should be remembered that it was Mr. Lumumba who invited the United Nations to come to their help six months ago. It was at his request that the United Nations decided to send their contingent there.

Mr. Lumumba was murdered. He was murdered in a brutal and callous manner. He was murdered by people who, in doing so, defied the whole process of the United Nations, its previous resolutions and even the present demands. They insulted the United Nations and the Conciliation Commission in every way. It is a picture which naturally angers one and which is going to have, and is having in fact, very far-reaching and serious consequences.

Our policy in such a situation must necessarily be limited by our capacity. Obviously we cannot go and fight a war in the Congo. Although we did not send any combat troops, we have helped the United Nations in other ways and, if we really think it is necessary from the point of view of the world or from the point of view of the Congo, we shall even send combat troops. But we cannot possibly send them except through the United Nations. We cannot stand by ourselves there to fight all and sundry. We can do that only if we are convinced that they will be used rightly, for the freedom of the Congolese people, and not to support the gangster regimes that function there.

It is most unfortunate that this tragedy should have occurred when there was a chance of some better and more effective policies being pursued by the U.N. It is possible

that it was the fear of these better policies being pursued that hastened Mr. Lumumba's death; that is, his opponents did not want him to live longer lest the other policies should come into play. It is a fact that in the United Nations even those who had been reluctant to take any effective steps were coming round to the belief that something effective should be done instead of this inert policy and passive support of the existing conditions there. The United Nations itself was thinking of this. The United States of America under the new regime—we were informed—had definitely decided to change the old policies and do several things which we and others had been asking for these many months. Just when there was some hope of this new policy coming up, which included naturally the release of Mr. Lumumba and the factional forces there being disarmed or brought under control, as also many other things like the summoning of parliament, this tragedy occurred.

I should have thought it better for us and for the other countries to await the decisions of the Security Council which is meeting from day to day before finally deciding on its own policy. Speaking for my Government, in spite of all our dismay at all that has happened and our disagreement on many of the policies that the United Nations has pursued in the Congo during the last few months, it seems to us that if the United Nations withdraws from the Congo it would be a disaster because then the field is left open to civil war and large-scale foreign intervention in various ways. On the other hand, if it is not effective, there is no point in its being there. It can stay on only if it changes its past policy very largely and if it insists on these basic matters. One of the actions which are quite essential is that the foreign elements must be controlled and must be made to withdraw, specially Belgians.

We have made our position quite clear not only to the United Nations but also to the countries concerned. In spite of our anger and our great resentment at all that has happened, we have restrained ourselves. We hope that it may be possible for the Security Council to come to firm decisions so that the U.N. authority can function there effectively and strongly.

This means that it should function even if it is necessary to use armed force and not merely look on while others use armed force for a wrong purpose, that the foreign elements must go from there, and that the so-called Congolese army should be controlled and disarmed.

Having got the situation under control, the U.N. should try to get parliament to meet for deciding what kind of government they will have, the object being that the unity, integrity and independence of the Congo should be preserved. If any help has to be given to them it should go through the United Nations and not through other sources.

We were asked, by the United Nations, maybe about two weeks ago, to send combat troops there because some countries were withdrawing their forces from there. We have about 800 personnel there doing hospital and supply and signals work. In our answer we made our position clear. We said that we did believe that the United Nations should function there because as soon as it withdrew there would be a collapse of everything and one did not quite know where this disaster would take the Congo. But we completely disagreed with the way the U.N. had been functioning and we pointed out the various things that I have mentioned here. If our views could be accepted we would get over our reluctance and help even by sending some combat troops to the Congo. That is the position we took up earlier and it still holds.

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ABOUT A MONTH ago, the Secretary-General of the United Nations asked us to send Indian armed forces to the Congo. We informed him in reply that we had not approved of the way in which the United Nations had been functioning in the Congo. We had no desire, therefore, to send our armed forces to the Congo unless the policy of the United Nations was changed and brought more in line with our views on that subject. With the passage of the recent resolution of the



Security Council, which was sponsored by the United Arab Republic, Ceylon and Nigeria, the position has changed to some extent and it appears to us that a more correct and more effective policy will now be pursued. This resolution was drafted in consultation with many Afro-Asian countries and we were also consulted. A certain responsibility, therefore, is cast upon us.

The situation in the Congo has been a changing and confusing one, and we were reluctant, as we always are, to send our armed forces outside India. We gave careful thought to these matters and communicated our views about the policy to be pursued in the Congo to the United Nations Secretary-General. When his reply was received it was considered generally satisfactory. After giving very careful thought to all aspects of the question, we decided to place an army brigade at the disposal of the United Nations for service in the Congo. In doing so, however, we informed the Secretary-General that we did not want our forces to come into conflict with the forces of any member country of the United Nations, apart from Congolese and Belgian and other mercenaries engaged in the Congo, and further that the brigade should function as a unit by itself and not be attached to other units. We laid stress on the very early withdrawal of Belgians who are serving in the Congo as this appeared to be the crux of the problem there. We made it clear also that our troops must not be used in any manner against popular movements in the Congo.

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THE MILITARY CONFLICT in the Congo is going on. It appears that the U.N. Secretary-General has given permission for widening the activity of the U.N. Forces there, and that yesterday or the day before, they actually took air action against Katanga airfields and elsewhere.

The main problem in the Congo at the present moment

is the revolt of the Katanga Government and their desire to break completely with the Congolese Central Government. The U.N. Security Council and the Assembly have agreed that the whole of the Congo should hold together and should not break up into bits, which would be disastrous. The attitude taken by some of Katanga's leaders, like Mr. Tshombe, has been entirely opposed to it. There was some fighting in the Katanga province some time ago. Then a kind of truce was arrived at. That truce has been violated many times by the Katanga people. Fighting has again begun there, and a few casualties in the Indian forces and a larger number of casualties on the other side have occurred.

The U.N. officer in Katanga, Dr. O'Brien, an Irish gentleman, issued a statement about four days ago; and day before yesterday, Gen. McKcown, another Irishman, who was in command of the U.N. Forces, has supported Dr. O'Brien's statement. Both these statements make very painful reading. To say that we were surprised at Dr. O'Brien's statement would not be correct. For, we have ourselves been feeling that the kind of thing mentioned in his statement was happening there during the whole of last year. Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal's experience in the Congo and ultimately his resignation was all due to such kinds of pressure being brought upon the U.N. by certain great powers. Dr. O'Brien says his position became difficult and he specially protests against the fact that a resolution passed by the Security Council of the U.N. and voted upon by all members of the U.N. is undermined by some of the same persons at the stage of implementation. One can realize how difficult has been this Congo problem and the functioning of the U.N. in the Congo because of this way of functioning by big powers.

It is obvious that the U.N. cannot run away from this problem. If it runs away, it is almost doomed. That will mean that it can deal with no problem and nobody will then care much about what the U.N. says. It has to face the problem and solve it as far as possible by peaceful methods and, if force is necessary, by the application of force. There is no other way.

## THE PROBLEM OF GERMANY

**I**N REGARD to the very serious situation which has arisen in Berlin or in Central Europe, I ventured to say yesterday that it was not for us to make definite proposals. It is a matter concerning the great powers. The only thing which we would suggest strongly is that they should get together and deal with it.

Apart from the rights and wrongs of the matter, the consequences of conflict are so terrible that no responsible statesman can view such a conflict without making every effort to avoid it. Personally I think that in this particular instance of Berlin, looking at it even from the point of view of the two major contestants, it does not necessarily follow that there should be a conflict. There are probably ways and means of avoiding a conflict. I do hope that such ways will be taken advantage of, but the point is that this subject should be removed from the plane of troop movements and military preparations to the council chamber or to a meeting of representatives of the great powers concerned.

I would repeat some of the factors which are known. Much of the trouble at the present moment has arisen because of a fear in regard to the inhabitants of West Berlin whether they would be cut off from West Germany and whether the three powers, namely the United States, the United Kingdom and France, would be prevented from having access to West Berlin. I can very well understand that the people of a great city like West Berlin with a population of two and a half million, apart from East Berlin, and following a certain social and economic structure to which they are addicted should be afraid of any change coming in the way of their lives and of any break in the contacts which they have had with West Germany.

It is true that their isolated position in the heart of East Germany is very unusual and odd. Nevertheless, it has been made clear by Mr. Khrushchev that no interference will take place in their ways of living and their social and economic structure, and that the fullest assurances and guarantees will be

given so that they may maintain their rights of way or passage into West Germany. If that is to be so, one of the major fears of West Berlin or the Western powers would lose its substance. At any rate there is enough matter for discussion at the council table and for decisions to be arrived at to safeguard the freedom of West Berlin and the freedom of its contacts with West Germany.

The whole atmosphere has been vitiated in the last many years by a certain uncertainty in regard to frontiers. About Berlin it is odd enough. The Oder-Neisse frontier with Poland, which is a frontier arising from the war, has not been accepted by some countries, notably West Germany, and this involves a large population. I believe in Poland alone it involved a population of 8 million, when the frontier was changed. It would create a tremendous upset, because many people have gone and settled down there. If anything is certain, it is that an attempt to change that frontier will lead to war. I am surprised that this matter should be left vague and in the air often with ideas thrown about that it should be changed. That puts the whole question of West Germany and East Germany on a dangerous level. War is no solution, because war will bring complete destruction to East Germany and West Germany and other countries. Therefore, I cannot understand why the permanence of these frontiers is not plainly accepted. Maybe some countries think that it could be used as a bargaining counter for other gains. But it would not help if these matters were not clarified. In any case it is clear that there are two countries at present, namely West Germany (the Federal Government) and East Germany (the German Democratic Republic), each connected by land and otherwise with the power blocs. It is no good refusing to see this.

I presume that there is strong feeling among the German people in favour of unity. That is a natural feeling. Perhaps some time in the future that may come about, but it will never come about by war or by constant attempts at war or by the cold war.

One question was raised by the hon. Member, Dr. Kunzru, about the rights of people going from East Berlin to West

Berlin. I have tried to look into this matter, and it is rather difficult to give a very precise legal answer because there are so many charges and counter-charges and because so many changes have taken place. The position as I understood it is this:

The Protocol of the 12th September, 1944, laid down that the occupation zones of Germany would be allotted to each of the occupying powers. (France was added to the occupying powers later). The Berlin area was, however, regarded as on a special basis and this was to be under joint occupation of all the four powers including France. Paragraph 5 of the Protocol lays down that the Greater Berlin area was to be jointly administered.

After the Berlin blockade, however, the new arrangements that came into force were defined in the communique of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the 20th June, 1949. Paragraph 3 of this communique refers to the present administrative division of Germany and of Berlin and the need for consideration of questions of common interest relating to the administration of the four sectors in Berlin with a view to normalizing, so far as possible, the life of the city by the Council of the four Foreign Ministers. Since this admission of the administrative division of Berlin, as distinguished from the joint administration of the Greater Berlin area referred to in the Protocol of the 12th September, 1944, makes a material change in the 1944 arrangements agreed to by the four powers, the Soviet and East German authorities could very well argue that they have the right to regulate and control the movement from the East Berlin area to the West Berlin area.

DR. HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU: There was an agreement on the 4th May, 1949, that movement between East and West Germany should be free, and this was confirmed later in June 1949 to which the Prime Minister referred.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I have just referred to the communique of the 20th June, 1949, which, far from confirming the previous arrangement, rather upset it by giving up the joint Berlin arrangement and admitted the four separate areas.

DR. KUNZRU: The administration was given up but not free movement.

THE PRIME MINISTER: It is not a question of giving up. The point is what rights each party had. There has been this movement, in fact. I should imagine that about fifty thousand workers went from one side to the other for their daily work. This has been happening all the time. The point is whether legally or by an agreement or protocol something had been decided upon which has been broken. The administration of Berlin from 1945 to 1948, the Berlin blockade of 1948 and 1949 and the arrangements arrived at at the end of the blockade further diluted the rights of the Western powers in Berlin particularly regarding the rights of access.

The blockade was lifted by the agreement of the four powers on the 4th May, 1949, which asked the Council of Foreign Ministers of the four powers to consider questions relating to Germany and arising out of the situation in Berlin. This Council of Foreign Ministers stated in the final communique of the 20th June, 1949, that in regard to "the movement of persons and goods and communications between the Eastern zone and the Western zones and Berlin and also in regard to transit, the occupation authorities each in its own zone will have an obligation to take the measures necessary to ensure the normal functioning and utilization of rail, water and road transport for such movement of persons and goods and such communications by posts, telephone and telegraph". The Foreign Ministers also acknowledged "the present administrative divisions" of Berlin and called upon the occupation authorities "to consult together" on a quadripartite basis. This meant the continuance of freedom of movement between East and West Berlin in spite of the administrative divisions. The Council of Foreign Ministers did not invoke any right of access but merely mentioned "obligation" on the part of the occupation authorities to take the necessary measures. "each in its own zone".

On the 12th May, 1949, an occupation statute was promulgated in the three Western zones of Germany. Although this came into operation only on the 21st September, 1949, when the West German Republic was recognized by the Western powers, a similar statute on West Berlin was made

immediately effective on the 14th May, 1949. The German Democratic Republic was promulgated by the Soviet Union on the 2nd October, 1949, twelve days after the recognition of the West German Republic by the three Western powers, and article 2 of the constitution mentioned Berlin as the capital of the German Democratic Republic.

By the end of 1949, the division of Germany had been formulated by the establishment of the separate States—West Germany and East Germany—and the division of Berlin was as firm as the division of Germany. By the statutes promulgated, West Berlin was part of West Germany and East Berlin became the capital of East Germany. Both sides, however, kept up the pretence regarding the status of Berlin by stating that the law and treaties of the two States will not apply to the respective areas of Berlin unless they were re-enacted by the legislature of East Berlin or West Berlin, as the case may be. Both in West Germany and in East Germany the occupation regime was terminated though the legal status of occupation continued. In Berlin, however, both the occupation status and the occupation regime were kept up, though with material modifications.

In 1954 the Western powers decided to recognize the sovereignty of West Berlin and to invite her to join the NATO along with Western Germany. On the 22nd October, 1954, the NATO Council associated itself with the tripartite guarantee of Berlin which thus became the responsibility of the North Atlantic Treaty System. Similar developments took place in East Berlin and East Germany. The Treaty of the 20th September, 1955 vested the East German Republic with sovereignty and transferred to it the control over boundaries of Greater Berlin and all the lines of communication with the Federal Republic. The transit of personnel and freight to the three Western powers, however, continued, despite the treaty, to be handled not by the East German Republic but by the Soviet Union “for the time being”.

Since then the Soviet Union denounced on the 27th November, 1958 the two protocols of 1944 with a view to terminating in Berlin the occupation regime which had long since disappeared in West Germany and East Germany.

Hon. Members will see that all kinds of changes were taking place during the last twelve years after the 1948 arrangement or protocol. A very major change has been that West Germany has become a member of the NATO group of nations and East Germany has become a member of the Warsaw Pact. They are both admitted by some countries on each side as sovereign States. And this had a powerful effect on West Berlin and East Berlin. It may be that one cannot deal with this matter in strict law but the fact is that both have been functioning separately but with a great deal of mutual contact and communication going on, admittedly each party governing this movement. As sovereign States, normally they have the right to control movements across their borders. Whether it is justifiable or not, it is another matter.

I may further state that legally the presence of Western powers in the City of Berlin is based not on the Potsdam Agreement but on the Protocol of the 12th September, 1944. The right of access to Berlin of the Western powers is on a different footing. It is not inherent in the right to occupy Berlin. Such rights of access, as The Hague Court held in the Goa case, are not automatic in the case of an enclave nor is the right of access of Western powers of the same validity in law as the right of occupation. It has not been stipulated specifically in any four-power agreement. This right was secured by the Western powers by a verbal agreement in June, 1945, not as a right but as a concession from the Soviet authorities. The issue, from the legal point of view, is a confusing one. From the practical point of view, it is still more confused. But the major fact is that whether it is West Germany or East Germany or East or West Berlin, different sovereign authorities are represented and that has created difficulties. If these sovereign authorities co-operate, it is well and good and if they do not, there is trouble. We are having that trouble now.

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta laid great stress on our recognition of the East German Government. I shall deal with that. Our recognition of the West German Government, as I have often stated, is really a continuation of our wartime association with



the Western allies. The British Government of India had a military mission there. That continued after we became independent and that automatically converted itself into a diplomatic mission afterwards. For some time our Ambassador or representative had to be a General and we had to put even our civilian officers in military uniform. On the Eastern side there was no such continuity, and right from the beginning there was the hope that some arrangement would be arrived at for bringing West Germany and East Germany together. We avoided, therefore, taking any action which might to some extent come in the way of such an arrangement. As time went on, we developed fairly good trade relations with East Germany. They have got a trade representative in Delhi and, in effect, we deal with them practically as an independent country which we recognize. But we have got no diplomatic contacts with them for the reasons I have mentioned.

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I MADE A reference in this House earlier to the Berlin issue. I want to clarify one or two matters in that connection which have led apparently to some misunderstanding, chiefly abroad.

In discussing the German or the Berlin issue which is exciting people's minds so much, I have repeatedly laid stress on peaceful negotiations by the big countries especially concerned. The greater the delay in doing so the greater the perils that we have to face because the cold war has become increasingly heated, although it is an odd way of describing it. On the last occasion here I spoke about the question of Berlin and I said that so far as West Berlin was concerned one thing should be accepted without reservation, namely that access to West Berlin from West Germany should be full and continue as before. The people of this city, although it is cut in half, have these contacts and one can hardly conceive

of interference with those contacts and access without the gravest consequences. Therefore, it is essential that it should be agreed and guaranteed that those contacts with West Berlin and East and West Germany should continue even if other changes occur. I have laid stress on that repeatedly and I have pointed out that even Mr. Khrushchev has admitted it.

Then there was a question the hon. Dr. Kunzru put to me about contacts between East and West Berlin. I went into this matter with the help of our Historical Section and they produced all manner of agreements, protocols, covenants and the like from 1944 onwards. It was highly confusing—not the protocols as such but the things that happened in between. For instance, originally the defeated Germany was divided up into three parts and later into four under the four big powers, and the City of Berlin was treated separately under the ultimate control of the four powers. The agreements are about these. Then what happens is that the three Western sectors combine together and become the Republic of West Germany. Then the Republic of West Germany becomes a member of the NATO group of powers. So there is difference between what it was in 1945 and what it became a few years later. Similarly, the Soviet sector becomes the Democratic Republic of East Germany and then a member of the Warsaw Pact. All these changes inevitably limit the force of some of the older pacts and covenants. It is therefore very difficult to justify fully anything purely legal. That is why I said on the last occasion something about there being no strong legal basis at present in regard to East and West Berlin. But because of these changes that have occurred, each party accuses the other of having taken some steps which it should not have done, and therefore of having broken the previous agreement or covenant or protocol. The net result of the deliberations of the Foreign Ministers in 1949 in respect of East and West Berlin which called upon the occupation authorities to consult together on a quadripartite basis was the continuance of freedom of movement between East and West Berlin in spite of the administrative division. Since then even till recently about 50,000 East Berlin workers used to go daily to West Berlin and come back. Similarly, between 5,000 and 15,000

workers went from West Berlin to East Berlin daily and went back. I am not talking about migration; that is a separate thing. Here is a huge city; it is not very easy or advantageous to divide it into two entirely separate units and cut up the city's life. But gradually this process of separation went on because of the cold war, and now a terrific barrier has been put up between East and West Berlin preventing people from going in and out. I hope it is a temporary barrier because it is quite absurd to have a great city like this with a kind of a Great Wall of China dividing it into two. I repeat that whatever the legal implications may be—because there are two views and it may be that under strict law this barrier being put up may be justified—from every other point of view it is a harmful thing for a city's life to be cut up in this way. From the human point of view it causes tremendous misery. Also, Berlin has continued to be a kind of symbol of the future unity of Germany whenever it might come about.

Loking at the German picture, it seems to me that in spite of the basic difference between the Soviet group on the one side and the Western countries on the other, there are so many points in common between them. At any rate it would not be very difficult to find some common basis for agreement at the present moment if they set about it. Such an agreement must take into account human considerations, and not stick too much to legal niceties or whatever some covenants contained in the 'forties. The whole background has changed factually and it does seem very odd that these barriers should be put in the way of movement and cause infinite misery to large numbers of people.

## CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS

IT WAS A happy and wise thought of the sponsors of this conference to have convened it. Our meeting would have been important in any event but it has become more important because of the developments of the last two or three months when we have been made aware of the abyss stretching out before and below us. This conference would have attracted attention in the normal course, but that attention is much more because we meet at the time of this particular crisis in human history.

Today everything, including the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racialism, which is important and to which reference has been made repeatedly here, is overshadowed by this crisis. Therefore, it becomes inevitable for us to pay attention to this crisis which confronts humanity. The great powers also watch us.

We call ourselves non-aligned countries. The word "non-aligned" may be differently interpreted, but basically it was coined and used with the meaning of being non-aligned with the great power blocs of the world. "Non-aligned" has a negative meaning. But if we give it a positive connotation it means nations which object to lining up for war purposes, to military blocs, to military alliances and the like. We keep away from such an approach and we want to throw our weight in favour of peace. In effect, therefore, when there is a crisis involving the possibility of war, the very fact that we are unaligned should stir us to feel that more than ever it is up to us to do whatever we can to prevent such a calamity coming down upon us.

If in this crisis some action of ours helps to remove the fear of war, then we have justified and strengthened ourselves. I know that the key to the situation does not lie in the hands of this conference. It lies essentially in the hands of the two great powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, this conference or rather the countries

which are represented in this conference are not so helpless that they look on while war is declared and the world is destroyed. The time, the place and the occasion are now and here to take up the question of war and peace and make it our own and show to the world that we stand for peace and that, so far as we can, we shall fight for it in the ways open to us. The power of nations assembled here is not military power or economic power; nevertheless it is power. Call it moral force. It does make a difference obviously what we in our combined wisdom feel and think about this issue of war and peace.

Some six, seven or eight years ago, non-alignment was a rare phenomenon. A few countries here and there asked about it and other countries rather made fun of it or at any rate did not take it seriously. "Non-alignment? What is this? You must be on this side or that,"—that was the argument. That argument is dead today. The whole course of history of the last few years has shown a growing opinion spread in favour of the concept of non-alignment. Why? Because it was in tune with the course of events; it was in tune with the thinking of the vast numbers of people, whether the country concerned was non-aligned or not, because they hungered passionately for peace and did not like this massing up of vast armies and nuclear bombs on either side. Therefore, their minds turned to those countries who refused to line up.

We have arrived at a position today where there is no choice left between an attempt between negotiations for peace or war. If people refuse to negotiate, they must inevitably go to war. I am amazed that rigid and proud attitudes are taken up by the great countries as being too high and mighty to negotiate for peace. I submit that it is not their prestige which is involved in such attitudes but the future of the human race. It is our duty and function to say that they must negotiate.

I believe firmly that the only possible way to solve many of these problems ultimately is complete disarmament. I consider disarmament an absolute necessity for the peace of the world. I think that without disarmament the present difficulties, fears and conflicts will continue. We cannot expect

to achieve disarmament suddenly even if this conference wants it. For the present moment the only thing which we can do is to lay stress on the need to negotiate with a view to getting over these fears and dangers. If that is done, the next and other steps follow.

I would venture to say that it is not for us to lay down what should be done in regard to Germany or Berlin which is the immediate cause of the present tension. It seems to me obvious that certain facts of life should be recognized. There are two independent entities: the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the German Democratic People's Republic. As things stand, we find the great City of Berlin divided by what might be called an international frontier. It is a very awkward situation, but there it is. West Berlin is very closely allied to West Germany and to Western countries and they have had access to it. I am glad that Mr. Khrushchev himself has indicated that that access will not be limited and it will be open to them as it is now. If that is made perfectly clear and guaranteed by all concerned, I should imagine that one of the major fears and causes of conflict will be removed. I am merely putting this forward to indicate how some of the big things which are troubling the people are capable of solution even if the entire problem is not solved.

The most important thing for the world today is for the great powers directly concerned to meet together and negotiate with a will to peace. And if this conference throws its weight in favour of such an approach, it will be a positive step which we take in order to help.

May I say that the danger of war coming nearer has been enhanced perhaps by the recent decision of the Soviet Government to start nuclear tests? I regret it deeply because it may well lead to the other countries also starting the tests, and apart from the inherent danger of nuclear fall-outs, this brings us to the very verge of the precipice of war. Therefore, it has become even more urgent that the process of negotiation should begin without any delay.

I should like to refer briefly to some of our other problems. Many of the countries represented here have only recently become independent. They have tremendous prob-

lems and have, above all, the problem of making good economically and socially, because most of these countries are under-developed. It is right and proper that the affluent countries should help in this process. They have to some extent done so. I think they should do more in this respect, but ultimately the burden will lie on the people of the countries themselves. This problem has to be faced by each one of our countries.

There are some countries represented here which are struggling for their freedom. There is Algeria which has paid a fantastic price in human life and suffering in its struggle for freedom and yet which has not so far succeeded in achieving it. There is Tunisia with its recent extraordinary experience. I am referring particularly to Bizerta, which is a foreign base, because the very idea of foreign base in a country seems quite extraordinary to me. There are then the problems of the Congo. There is the horror of Angola. It is a closed book.

Then there is the situation in East Africa, where some countries, such as Tanganyika, have been promised independence. The situation in Central Africa is not good. Further south in South Africa we have the supreme symbol of racial arrogance, racial discrimination, and apartheid which is an intolerable position to be accepted by any of us. And this is imposed upon South-West Africa in challenge to the United Nations' decisions! All these problems crowd upon us. We have to face them.

The most fundamental fact of the world today is the development of new and mighty forces. We have to think in terms of the new world. There is no doubt that imperialism and the old-style colonialism will vanish. Yet the new forces may help others to dominate in other ways over us, and certainly the under-developed and the backward. Therefore, we cannot afford to be backward.

We have to build in our own countries societies where freedom is real. Freedom is essential, because freedom will give us strength and enable us to build prosperous societies. These are for us basic problems. When we think in terms of these basic problems, war becomes an even greater folly than

ever. If we cannot prevent war, all our problems suffer and we cannot deal with them. But if we can prevent war, we can go ahead in solving our other problems. We can help to liberate the parts of the world under colonial and imperial rule and we can build up our own free, prosperous societies in our respective countries. That is positive work for us to do. Therefore, I venture to submit to this assembly that we must lay the greatest stress on the removal of this major danger of war today. Not only is this incumbent on us but if we do this we shall be in line with the thinking of millions and millions of people. Non-alignment has received strength from the fact that millions of people are not aligned and that they do not want war.

Let us use this strength rightly, with courtesy and with a friendly approach so that we may influence those who have the power of war and peace in their hands. Let us try, if not to prevent war for all time, to push it away so that in the meantime the world may learn the ways of mutual co-operation.

## PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

I AM HAPPY to be associated with this seminar. In coming here I feel that we are participating in a movement of history. This movement, more particularly in Africa, is a historic phenomenon, and any person looking at it will know in which direction the current is moving.

Unfortunately, some countries and some Governments, notably the Portuguese Government, have not realized this yet. Some other colonial powers realized it and accepted this direction to some extent and worked to that end. But often they were pulled back by various forces, vested interests and their own habits of mind. In the last few years more particularly there has been a new and powerful influence

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From speech at the Seminar on Problems of Portuguese Colonies organized by the Indian Council for Africa, New Delhi, October 20, 1961



which has come in the way of liberation of the colonies. I mean the force of the cold war. The whole world is involved indirectly in this cold war. Africa is affected, and the freedom movements are affected by the consequences of the cold war, and this particularly applies to the Portuguese colonies. The big powers which are deeply involved in the cold war think in military terms and in terms of the possible effect of any step taken in a colony on their interests. They may have a base in a colony as they do have in many places. So they judge these questions from the point of view of the effect on their broader policies related to the cold war. Because Portugal has become a part of military alliances like the NATO, Portugal gets special consideration sometimes from the big countries. Lately, therefore, we have seen a conflict in the minds of big countries in the sense that while on the one side they encourage the liberation of the colonies, on the other side they put up obstructions in the way of this liberation.

As far as I can judge, the Portuguese Government have tried to profit as much as they can by this situation in the world and have indeed succeeded in profiting by it. Perhaps very recently it is dawning on some of the big powers that they might be backing the wrong horse. They ought to have known that long ago. Apart from an appreciation of the normal human desire for freedom, practical considerations are gradually making them realize that it is far more important to try to win the goodwill of the people of the countries in Asia and Africa than to think in purely military terms which lead them to support colonial domination.

Historically speaking, colonialism is a past phenomenon. I do not say practically, because colonialism is continuing and does much mischief. Nevertheless, the force which builds up the colonial domains is over. The odd thing is that today Portugal which is, compared to the other European countries, a backward country socially, economically, politically and almost in every sense, represents the biggest colonial empire. And it continues to try to hold on to this empire in spite of its amazing record of backwardness in the past and at present. If we consider colonialism, specially Portuguese colonialism, we cannot do so in isolation. We have to see what effect

the cold war has got on it. I am not prepared to say that all the ills of the world today flow from colonialism. They flow from other causes also, including the consequences of the last war which pursue us still. But undoubtedly the fact of colonialism is a cause not only for deep unrest but for possibly bringing war nearer. Therefore, even from the larger point of view of the world, it seems to me of the utmost importance that the system of colonialism should be wound up completely leaving no trace, except a bad memory, behind.

You have met here particularly to discuss Portuguese colonies. As you know, we have a little bit of the Portuguese colony in India. It is almost a dot in size. Yet it has created a strong feeling in India with which, I am sure, you will sympathize. In the past 14 years since we became independent, it has occupied our mind a good deal, and we have been driven hard to think as to what we should do about it.

All these years we were thinking not merely of solving a problem in the immediate present but solving it for good. The virtue of Gandhiji's method was that it sought to solve a problem without leaving a trail of bitterness, ill will and hatred behind it. Therefore, we did not want to do something which would lead to other difficult problems. Maybe, we were philosophic. But that was our thinking. That has led us to the present position when, 14 years after independence, Goa still remains a blot on India, not only because it is a colonial possession but because it is a bad colonial possession also.

At no time did we in our minds and in our actions renounce or give up the possibility of military action. But we did not want to resort to it. We wanted to try all other methods. We were prepared to wait, as we have waited very long. Apart from the emotional or psychological aspect of it, from the point of view of the security of India we would not tolerate a foreign base on the coast of India. It is a dangerous thing when it is tied up with big powers and military alliances. Maybe, people conditioned in other ways have not appreciated or understood why India acted in a particular way. But as I have said, we are not in any sense tied down absolutely to pursuing the policy which we have thus far pursued in the interest of removal of colonialism. If we

have to take some other action, we shall take it. We keep an open mind.

In a sense, Goa has become and has been a part of a larger problem of Portuguese possessions. Today as we all know, the most vital struggle against Portuguese colonialism is taking place in Angola and in Mozambique. The story of Angola has been one of extreme tragedy. Practically all the people of Asia and Africa, and many in Europe and America, must feel great sympathy for those who are fighting for their freedom in Angola and Mozambique and a great deal of resentment against the terribly repressive methods adopted by the Portuguese. And the resentment is to some extent also against those countries who have directly or indirectly helped the Portuguese, whether it is because of NATO or because of some other reason. When this supreme tragedy is being enacted in Angola, it seems to us very odd indeed that any country should pat the Portuguese Government on the back. If you look round Africa today, some difficulties were perhaps inherent in the situation, as for example in the Congo, but those difficulties were undoubtedly aggravated by policies followed by certain countries and sometimes by the big countries. As a result, the United Nations, which jumped into this situation, was constantly hampered and restricted in its activities. One fact was that the main source of trouble in the Congo was the presence of considerable numbers of mercenaries, chiefly from Europe and some from Africa, especially Northern Rhodesia. This leads us to see the curious connection. As we all know, there is certainly a great deal of emotional sympathy between the Portuguese in Angola and the South African Union and Northern Rhodesia. So the problem becomes complicated, and the problem of Portuguese colonies becomes a part of this larger complex.

When you consider this problem of Portuguese colonies today, you are considering the crux of the colonial question in the world. You are considering the crux not only of the colonial question but the future of Africa as a continent seething with a mixture of discontent, anger and hope. It is absurd to imagine that any country or power can put down this movement which is a movement of history.

You will, of course discuss the various aspects of Portuguese colonies. They do require discussion and objective and calm consideration. Probably it will be difficult for all the various aspects and situations to be tied up together. There are, no doubt, certain general considerations, but each country has to consider the situation separately and yet in concert with other countries so that there may be the feeling of a common struggle, of mutual sympathy, of solidarity and co-operation. My heart goes out to what is happening in Africa. I think that the agony of the African continent throughout history has been such that it has not been equalled anywhere. It is terrible, and I think the whole world owes it to the African people not to hinder them but to help them in freedom in every way. To gain freedom from the morass of colonial domination in which African nations have lived for hundreds of years has been difficult; nevertheless it is going to be achieved. But the other task of building themselves up is going to be much more difficult. That will require the help of all countries. I can assure you that so far as India is concerned, all our thinking and emotions are with you, and that in so far as we can help, we shall help.

### CO-OPERATE OR PERISH

IT IS A little over a year now since I had the honour of addressing this great Assembly. In the course of this year the organization which represents the world community has faced many crises. Among these crises has been the tragic death of the late Secretary-General. Mr. Hammarskjöld, who, during the many years of his high office, shaped to some extent the working of this Assembly and enlarged its functions. I would like to pay my tribute and my homage to the memory of Mr. Hammarskjöld. To you, Sir, who occupy now this high seat of the Secretary-General, I offer my warm welcome of

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From speech in the U.N. General Assembly, New York, November 10, 1961

regard and greetings. And I can assure you that we, in common with others, not only welcome you here but offer you our full co-operation. I hope that under your guidance, Mr. Secretary-General, the United Nations will advance from strength to strength and will serve the cause of the peace of the world and the cause of removing the remnants of foreign domination from various parts of the world.

The General Assembly and the Security Council took many steps in the last year or more in regard to these matters and thereby enlarged to some extent the functions of the organization. Unfortunately, those steps did not yield immediately the results which we had hoped for, because of various difficulties and the somewhat obstructive methods employed by some. I trust we shall work in future with greater unanimity and effectiveness in carrying out the decisions of the United Nations.

In the Congo, the United Nations has undertaken a great responsibility, and on the success of that venture depends in many ways the future of the United Nations itself or its future effectiveness. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that the work which this organization has undertaken in the Congo should succeed and yield results. All the countries represented here are interested in this vital problem. We in India are a little more interested than some others, because we have, at the invitation of the United Nations, placed some of our resources and some of our armed forces at the disposal of the organization for service in the Congo. The Congo has become the symbol and the touchstone of success for the activities of the United Nations.

During the last year, many additions have been made to the membership of the General Assembly. New countries have come here, chiefly from Africa, and I am happy about this enlargement. More particularly, I should like to mention the name of one country, Outer Mongolia, because for years we have been suggesting the name and hoping that it will be admitted. I am happy that Outer Mongolia has at last found a place in the Assembly. When future historians write about this period in which we are living, they may well say that an outstanding feature of this period was the emergence

of African countries which, historically speaking, is of vital importance today. We find that the problems arising there are problems of a new vitality and not problems of a decadent people. They are the problems of a new life emerging. I referred to the Congo, and there is the nearby country of Angola under Portuguese rule. Apart from the theoretical question of colonialism, from the practical point of view what we have heard of events in Angola has been distressing in the extreme. We can imagine how much it must distress people in Africa. I earnestly hope that this remnant of colonialism will also peacefully change.

There are other colonial problems, of course. There is Algeria. I can only say that the terrible suffering which the people of Algeria have undergone during the last eight years must find fulfilment. I am sure they will, but I would hope that they will do so soon and that the story of their agony should not drag. I do think that at this stage of the world's history it has become impossible for colonies to continue without creating complications which may lead to major conflicts in the world.

The world is facing even greater problems, of survival, of war and peace. The choice today before the world is a choice which has never been posed before. It is a choice of self-extinction or survival. Many people think and talk about escaping from the disaster of a nuclear war by burrowing underground and living like rats in a hole. It is surely a strange commentary on our times that we should be driven to that conclusion instead of directing all our energies and all our strength to the prevention of that catastrophe.

There are basic problems before us—the German problem, the problem of the city of Berlin and other problems elsewhere—which I believe are capable of solution, because I am convinced that no country deliberately desires war. I am convinced that the people all over the world are passionately in favour of peace.

There is the problem of disarmament. I am convinced that the modern world cannot continue for long without full disarmament. It is perhaps true ultimately that the material advance which has taken place in the world and which is

magnificent has gone far ahead of the development of the human mind. A mind which lags behind, and thinks in terms of how nations functioned and wars occurred a hundred or two hundred years ago, does not fit in with the modern age. Emotionally we do not fully understand the possibility of a nuclear war. Otherwise it seems to me impossible that there should be these continuing deadlocks and impasses, for under modern conditions war must be ruled out or human civilization has to submit to the ending of all that it has laboured for thousands of years to build. If that is true, it is important and urgent that we should approach this question of disarmament with speed, deliberation and determination to solve it.

This Assembly decided last year, almost unanimously I think, in favour of general, widespread disarmament. The great nations of the world have committed themselves to it. The United States, through its President, recently put forward proposals which are in line with what this Assembly has decided. The Soviet Union has put forward proposals to the same effect, varying them slightly but essentially aiming at the same thing. There is a good deal of commonness about them in broad outline. If that is so, why should we not grasp this opportunity and remove the fear and terror from people's minds and devote our energies and resources to the advancement of the world? This major and outstanding question must be dealt with speedily, and the great countries, especially those which have the greatest responsibility, should address themselves again and again to the consideration of this problem together through negotiations to reach agreements. Such agreements cannot be merely agreements between some countries, however great. These must represent all the members of the United Nations. But I do think that it is better for a few countries to deal with this problem to begin with. I feel rather strongly on this question although we in India are probably not situated in the major theatres of a possible war. Everything that man has striven for in the past thousands of years is at stake today. While I feel as strongly as possible about the freedom of the colonial countries and other dependent people, I do think that the biggest question

today is the question of war and peace and disarmament.

The General Assembly passed a resolution recently about nuclear tests. It was a great misfortune that after a period of abstinence from nuclear tests there was a resumption of these tests. Immediately it becomes more difficult to have treaties for ending nuclear tests, because the whole atmosphere becomes one of fear and apprehension. I do think, and I would beg the countries concerned to realize, that they are doing a grave disservice to the world, to their own countries, by not putting an end to nuclear tests by treaty as quickly as possible. The Assembly passed a resolution in favour of some kind of a moratorium. No one imagines that a voluntary moratorium is going to solve this question. There must be stricter controls by treaty and otherwise. Nuclear tests are basically evil. They encourage evil. The sooner this evil is dealt with the better.

We live in a world of conflicts and yet the world goes on undoubtedly because of the co-operation of nations and individuals. The essential principle about the world is co-operation, and there is today a vast amount of co-operation even between countries which are opposed to each other in the political or other fields. Little is known or said about this co-operation that is going on but a great deal is said about every point of conflict, and therefore the world is full of the idea that we live on the verge of disaster. It would perhaps be a truer picture if the co-operating elements in the world were put forward and we were made to think that the world depended on co-operation and not on conflict.

A proposal has been made by many persons to the effect that more attention should be directed to the co-operative ventures especially for peace and in the interest of peace, so that more positive thinking may take place on this subject and people may realize that this co-operation is already taking place and can be extended. Some years ago it was resolved to have an international geophysical year. That was a specific subject. However, it has been suggested that perhaps this Assembly might resolve to call upon all countries of the world to devote a year to the furtherance of co-operative activities in political, cultural and the many other fields—not to mere speeches about peace. That perhaps will direct some of our



energy and some of our thinking to this idea of co-operation which will create an atmosphere helpful for solving the problems more easily. That by itself will not solve any problems but it will lessen this distrust and conflict which affect the world. I make this suggestion to you not in any detail but broadly so that this Assembly might consider it and, if it is worth-while, perhaps appoint a committee to consider it further and make suggestions as to how this might perhaps be done. The great men of the world have been those who have fought hatred and violence and not those who have encouraged it. We have arrived at the stage when even in some worth-while cause hatred and violence have to be checked. This requires a new way of thinking, a new development of humanity. Possibly we are going through that process and this very crisis will wake up the mind of man and direct it to this new way of thinking. What shall it profit the world if it conquers the material ills and then commits suicide because it has not controlled its own mind? Therefore, we have to undertake the vast task of encouraging this new thinking, this new approach of co-operation, not on a mere ideological basis but on a practical basis of sheer survival. I would beg the Assembly to consider this from the larger point of view.

Apart from the problems of Germany, Berlin and Africa, there is the problem of Indo-China. You will remember that the Geneva Conference which was held five or six years ago came to certain conclusions and appointed international commissions. The main conclusions were that the countries in Indo-China be kept out of the power conflicts, because it was clear that otherwise they would perish. Those commissions functioned satisfactorily and prevented this to some extent. Later some of those commissions were not allowed to function as they should have done. Much of the difficulty has arisen because they were not allowed to function. I think the question can be solved primarily on the basis of applying the conclusions of the Geneva Conference which were agreed upon by everyone, and allowing the commissions to function.

It has been very gracious of you, Mr. President, to invite me to address this Assembly. I feel rather humble before it. I am no man of wisdom. I am only a person who has dabbled

in public affairs for nearly half a century and learned something from them and what I have learned mostly is how wise men often behave in a very foolish manner. That thought makes me often doubt my own wisdom. I question myself: "Am I right?" I have doubts about many things, but I have no doubt at all about some things, because I have been conditioned in that way. I have grown up in that way during long years of guidance from my leader. Mahatma Gandhi, that hatred and violence are essentially bad and evil, and that anything which promoted hatred, therefore, is bad. Apart from theory or idealism, the practical choice offered to the world is to co-operate or perish. The choice is of peaceful co-existence or no-existence at all.

I venture to suggest to this Assembly that these questions should be looked upon from this broader point of view. They should also be looked upon with the urgency which they demand. I would repeat that the future of the world depends so much on the continuance of the United Nations. Without it, perhaps that future itself would end.

## RUSSIA AND AMERICA

I HAVE REPEATEDLY been impressed during my visits to the Soviet Union and to the United States by the many things they have in common. I am thinking more about the people than about politics. The people in both countries are in some ways remarkably similar to each other. They are frank and hospitable and are exceedingly friendly.

Essentially, I am thinking of one common feature today in the Soviet Union and in America, namely the concentration of technological and scientific development as a means to progress. The Russians, in spite of their political differences, are full of admiration for the technological civilization which the United States has built up. They want to do even better.

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From address to the Collegiate Council of the United Nations, New York, November 11, 1961

Theirs is a competitive approach. It is because of this I think that once they get over the present-day political difficulties the people of the Soviet Union and the United States are likely to come much nearer to each other than possibly other countries might.

America by and large is a Welfare State. There may be odd things here and there which do not fit in with this concept, but it is a Welfare State. You have solved your problems of providing the primary necessities of life to the people. We in India have not. Our problems in India are fundamentally concerned with the primary necessities of life. In that sense, our problems are different from yours. Therefore, the pure American approach does not often fit in, because you think in terms of an affluent society. For example, you may think in terms of highly mechanized agriculture. But it may not suit India. Not that we are against mechanization, but it may not fit in with the conditions in India.

In the Soviet Union there has certainly been a very marked and progressive change from the rigid authoritarianism of Stalin's time. We must remember that in the Soviet Union, at any rate in the greater part of it, they never had anything but some kind of authoritarian government, whether it was the Czar's government or any other government. From that they went on to a communist regime, which has brought them some advantages undoubtedly but at the cost of individual liberty. Apparently not having been used to individual liberty, they do not feel the lack of it very much, but ultimately everyone feels the lack of individual liberty. I think basically the feeling in Russia has been the urge for greater individual freedom and for more of the good things of life.

Every revolution after a certain period tones down. After the French Revolution and the days of terror the French people toned down and became a very conservative and respectable people. Surprisingly the process has taken a longer time in the case of the Soviet Union but the process is there. Possibly the period has lengthened because of many factors including the wars. I once asked Mr. Khrushchev who had said something rather nasty about the British people as to why he did so. He had previously told me that he wanted to

be friends with America and with England. He had said, "You are friendly with both, help us to be that." I said, "I cannot do much, but I will certainly help to the best of my ability." He repeated what he said. Some two weeks later he was travelling about in India and he came back from Burma. In Burma, in answer to a British correspondent who had put some kind of a leading question to him, he had lost his temper and said something nasty about the British people. So I put it to Mr. Khrushchev: "You say that you want to be friendly with America and England and want me to help, and yet you say things which must infuriate every Englishman. Surely that is not the way to help that process which you desire." He said: "Yes. Do you realize that for 30 years or so, whatever the period, we have lived in Russia in a state of siege? We have lived in a state of siege with our enemies surrounding us and trying to put an end to us, crush us. We have fought and survived and we have developed ourselves. But this state of siege has conditioned us. We are suspicious of everybody, especially of these people who have participated in this siege and if they do anything which we do not like, we retaliate immediately. The reaction is there without even thinking."

So you see the result of past conditioning. It is a very powerful factor in every nation. Yet you see one gets over it. Take the last war. How did people in America or in England or in many other countries feel about Hitler's Germany and about the Nazis? They felt very angry, no doubt. But today they are friends with the German people and rightly so. You have got over that. Take Japan. How did you, Americans, feel about Japan during the war? You were very bitter, and yet you are relatively friendly today. It is extraordinary how these changes can take place. It is by no means impossible that the Americans and the Russians may, after they get over some difficulties, feel friendly towards each other and co-operate with each other without necessarily changing their views about basic matters. You have to accept the doctrine of co-existence. You cannot and should not want to have a glum, regimented world, all thinking and functioning alike. Such a world will be a horrible place to live in. You want the variety of the world. If I may put it in philosophical terms, you want people

searching for truth or searching for God in their own way. Truth is much too big a thing for a single human mind to encompass or understand. Therefore Indian philosophy has always said that you can see only a bit of the truth. Let others see the other parts of the truth. Out of this synthesis may come an understanding which may help a wider appreciation of the truth. One has to accept this doctrine of peaceful co-existence, trying to argue, trying to understand, trying to impress, trying to convince but not trying to interfere and upset the other.

Europe, throughout the centuries except for the last few generations, has been the scene of major religious conflicts and consequently of terrible wars. So also other parts of the world. On the whole, India has been free from religious conflicts, because it had a certain philosophic outlook of "live and let live". We accepted religions coming there from outside. Christianity came to India in the first century of the Christian era long before it went to Europe and it established itself peacefully, without conflict. The Zoroastrians came to India from Iran when they were pushed out by the Muslims. The Jews came about the first century. They established themselves quietly and there was no trouble. And so various people have come to India from outside and been established. India has stood for this kind of peaceful co-existence between different sets of ideas and different faiths. It is a continuation of that idea that makes us put forward the ideal of peaceful co-existence in the world today. It does not mean surrendering anything which we hold dear. It does not mean trying to impose our will on others either. Such an approach will help to develop a world free of conflicts, except, maybe, friendly conflicts in the realm of the mind. Therefore, I do not see any difficulty in the Soviet Union and the United States, as other countries, arriving at the stage of peaceful co-existence, each country no doubt influencing the other not by fierce arguments and denunciations but by actually living its own life.

## MEANING OF NON-ALIGNMENT

**MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS:** You have said that anyone who says that he will never compromise is foolish because life is constantly forcing compromise on us. How do you compromise in respect of holding to your principles?

**MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU:** You have to draw a line. You cannot draw the sword at every non-essential; that is absurd, childish.

**MR. ADLAI STEVENSON:** Somebody once said that a wise man who stands firm is a statesman and a foolish man who stands firm is a catastrophe; maybe we have to find a compromise through wisdom.

**MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS:** In regard to the very pressing and continually burning question of admittance of Communist China to the United Nations, our Government's position, as you know, Mr. Nehru, is opposed to it. The alleged conflict between the Soviet Union and China is said to be built on the basis of the Soviets wanting to pursue a course of co-existence and the Chinese being opposed to it. If that is true—and the Chinese in fact are opposed to co-existence—what basis do you see for their admittance to the U.N.?

**MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU:** My argument for the admittance of China has nothing to do with their views, but is based on the fact that you cannot solve any major problem leaving out a quarter of the world's population. I would say that one has to face that fact. Take them in, even as a hostile element. That is better than keeping them out, and allowing them to go on with their hostility and try to upset our plans.

**MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS:** Do you believe that they really want to join the U.N.?

**MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU:** It is difficult to say. I imagine they do now, though, I must say, I have sometimes rather doubted it. Anyhow, they have not been so terribly keen as others have been in wanting them to join. I think they like their freedom to say and do just what they like, to criticize everybody, with no element of responsibility coming in.

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From television interview with Mr. Adlai Stevenson and Mr. Arnold Michaelis, Washington, November 12, 1961

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON : They have never renounced the use of force against Formosa, Taiwan, the Republic of China, which hardly makes them qualify for membership in accordance with the literal language of the Charter.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : Do other countries, Governor? Have all the countries renounced the use of force?

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON : They have, by joining the United Nations, except in self-defence, and adhering to the principles of the Charter. I believe the Chinese have asserted repeatedly that their claim to Formosa would be enforced, if necessary.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : One difficulty which I have noticed is that various countries use the same words in different meanings. Take co-existence. The Chinese go on saying that they stand for co-existence, but it seems to me evident that the meaning which they attach to it is somewhat different from mine.

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON : Maybe what we should say from now on is not co-existence but that we stand against co-extinction.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : Yes. I will tell you a little story. When Chou En-lai came to India for the first time about six years ago, before the Geneva Conference, he spent two or three days in Delhi and at the end of it he asked me to draft a small joint statement to be issued to the press. My Ministry drafted it. For a long time he looked at it. He said he knew a little English, not too much. He said, "It seems to me all right, but I should like to see the Chinese translation of it." When this came he protested. He objected to certain words in the draft—quite harmless words, not involving any high principle. He said it sounded funny in Chinese. I said naturally it might sound funny in Chinese and he could put any suitable word he liked but that was the English sense. For hours we argued about certain words and phrases, quite without any relevance to any principle. Ultimately in the small hours of the morning they agreed to something. That experience made me think how different was the genius of the Chinese language from not only English but all the other languages, including the Indian languages, because we are all one family of languages. It struck me that these people

who say they are Marxists have read Marx in the Chinese version. The whole linguistic background of the Chinese is different and so they use words with different meanings. Their pictographs represent ideas, not words as in our languages. That is why I think some trouble is caused by different interpretations to words.

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON: Yes, I am sure, it creates great difficulties; for example, the translation of words in the United Nations, because the meaning of words is not always the same in all the languages which we use.

Could you, Sir, give me some simple explanation of what you describe or define as the policy of non-alignment of India and the United Nations?

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: I could. Of course, what I say would not be a complete thing. Broadly, non-alignment means not tying yourself off with military blocs of nations or with a nation. It means trying to view things, as far as possible, not from the military point of view, though that has to come in sometimes, but independently and trying to maintain friendly relations with all countries.

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON: That is one thing I have not been able to understand lately. We have seen refugees shot in cold blood under the barbed wire in Berlin, we have seen the double-dealing of the Soviet Union in respect of nuclear testing, and her detonation of an enormous bomb with dire consequences for the human race, and yet I do not see that this stirs up the kind of indignation among the non-aligned people that one would anticipate.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: You are right, Governor, to some extent. We will find almost everyone deploring this, but you are right that the degree of indignation elsewhere may be lesser than in the United States. That depends on how it affects them personally. Suppose there was a nuclear test in Africa. The African nations will be wild. The thing is the same, whether it is in Africa, Europe, or somewhere else. But when it is near to their doors, they personally see it and are affected by it. And they will shout. You can explain that only by the past conditioning of all these countries. At the Belgrade Conference we have had a majority of newly independent



African countries so full of their own problems that the rest of the world does not seem to exist for them except vaguely as an imperialist, colonialist world against which they are striving to free themselves. You see they have a background in which they have grown and they react accordingly. Of course, if you put this matter to them, they will say, "it is very bad". At Belgrade they did say it was very bad and it should not have been done. But having said so, they reverted to their own problems.

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON: I think we in the United States share the attitude of India about the colonialism which you mentioned was such a concern at Belgrade, and also about self-determination. I believe we share your view that this should be the objective of all peoples everywhere. This great wave of independence, which has swept the world and freed a billion people and created 42 new nations, I think, since the war, has not reached some regions of the world. I speak specifically of Eastern Europe where governments have been imposed on the people by force of arms and are maintained in that manner. Wouldn't it be true that if non-colonialism and self-determination applied to Africa it should also apply to Eastern Europe and give those people an equal opportunity for self-determination?

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: That would be an ideal thing. But there is difference. Obviously there is an old-style colonial type in Africa or Asia. That is not the type in Eastern Europe. It is not colonialism. It is the domination of a certain group or party, aided by outside elements from another country. I dislike the second thing also, but it is different. Those elements which went to form the other colonialism really apply here. It may be, and it sometimes is, that the second type is even worse from the human point of view than the other.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: In other words, you would favour self-determination for all peoples.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: Yes, but if I agree to that, I don't quite know where it will land me. Self-determination for a country, for a part of a country, for a district, for what?

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: We are speaking of governments which have had other governments superimposed on them.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: Yes, it would be a good thing if every country as such was given that opportunity. Then that gets tied up with so many other factors. Take this development of the East European countries, partly as a result of the last war and partly conditioned by fear of future wars. See what a terrible thing happened in Hungary. And yet probably a reason for that was the fear that that was going to lead to a world war. Just at that time the Egyptian invasion by the French and the British was taking place. And it looked almost as though it were going to burst into a world war. If so, the Russians may have thought, "We are going to take no chances in Hungary". The instinct of self-preservation came in.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: The Soviet instinct.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: Yes, and they behaved in a brutal manner in Hungary.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: I am glad to hear you say that today, Mr. Nehru, because, as you know from our press, there are large sections of the American population which feel that you didn't speak out forcefully against the situation in Hungary.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: Mr. Michaelis, that shows their lack of touch with what I have been saying. It is perfectly true that in the first few days I said I wanted to know the facts before I said anything. And soon after that I expressed my opinion clearly enough. Always there has been a desire not merely to express an opinion—that is easy enough—but to do something to help in a difficult context.

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON: Non-alignment, Mr. Prime Minister, serves a useful purpose in the United Nations. It spurs negotiations between the aligned countries. It has the effect of sustaining pressure on them in peaceful directions, and it is often a guide to public opinion around the world. It serves very many useful purposes. But when non-alignment leans one way more than the other, it does have the effect of encouraging the Soviet Union to more extreme adventures. And this, in turn, would lead to the same in this country and also to a loss of confidence in the United Nations. I think this problem is something that we have to deal with all the time. But we do respect your non-alignment. With respect

to your delegation to the United Nations, we have felt that frequently we did not share common views on political issues. On other issues in the field of colonialism, in the field of executive action by the United Nations, in the Congo, in the Middle East and so on we find common ground. I should like very much to take this occasion, while you are here with me this morning, to express the gratitude of my Government for the services that India has rendered in the effort to unify the Congo and in many other cases to establish a United Nations presence, and to use this instrumentality more effectively to preserve peace in the world. I think it has been a very useful service, and I am very grateful to you, Sir.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: That gives us the right to enjoy the luxury and privilege of disagreement, since we have agreement in so many areas.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: This has nothing to do with non-alignment. Non-alignment is a basic policy, but its application to particular circumstances or resolutions is a matter for judgment. Non-alignment is the background which governs our thinking. That doesn't arise as a resolution. It is not because we are not aligned that we must agree or not agree to something. That requires an independent judgment as to which is likely to lead to the objective aimed at. We do avoid, generally speaking, mere condemnations which often make it difficult to bring differing groups together. But in regard to particular things, we should express our opinion clearly aiming always at achieving results. It is not a result, in our opinion, merely to damn somebody.

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON: We find it difficult to understand how India can take a position of impartiality between nuclear tests by the United States and the Soviet Union. This form of non-alignment of trying to find a position of non-identification between right and wrong or good and evil can, I am sure you will appreciate, cause us some confusion in this country.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: There is no difficulty in choosing between right and wrong if the question appears in that sense. It doesn't always appear clearly in that way. Between white and black, there are many shades of grey. The

question is what you are aiming at. I do not quite know what you have in mind, Governor, about the tests. Obviously the fact that the Soviet Union resumed nuclear tests was a very bad thing from every point of view—in its results, in its breach of a covenant, voluntary covenant, no doubt. It was bad as an example to be followed by others. It vitiated the atmosphere of coming together. If the United States Government started its underground tests or any other tests, there is no question of putting them in any other category. But the thing to think about is the future. For us to say, "Well, the Russians have had a go. Therefore it is only right that the Americans should have time to go ahead to equalize", creates difficulties. The Russians are completely wrong, no doubt. But when we think a nuclear test is evil, we have to say that at every stage. There is no question of equalizing, although Russia may have possibly gained an advantage by some test. This cannot be helped. That becomes a political, technical and military question, but we are not in a position to judge. In this particular matter, obviously it was Russia that took the step which we consider very wrong.

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON: I was very glad to hear you say the other day that you believe that the solution to this matter lies in the execution of a treaty providing for control and inspection of nuclear weapons, and that the sooner this is done the better.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: I think that feeling has caught the imagination of all peoples, certainly in Britain. The other day Lord Home, the British Foreign Secretary, said that Mr. Khrushchev apparently has extended an olive branch to him. "If indeed it is an olive branch, I will be happy to climb up on it and sit next to him and coo like a dove with him," he said.

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON: I hope there is plenty of room on that olive branch. There will be a lot of people trying to get on it.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: If that happens, your efforts will have proven successful, Mr. Nehru.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: Yes. You see the alternatives are terrible to contemplate. The reality facing the world today,

if there is a nuclear war, is so amazing in its consequences that one tries to avoid it. I am quite sure nobody wants it in the world. But certain urges of an out-of-date mentality govern all nations still. They take step after step till it becomes a matter of national honour not to retreat, and then you have wars.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: Mr. Nehru had made the statement in some part of his writings that one test of his sobriety and sanity is the fact that he has never suffered a bad headache. I wonder if this has been true since the nuclear age came upon us?

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: It is true, broadly speaking. I don't have headaches and I sleep well even though perhaps not enough. It is a good sleep.

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON: I have to say that we have some things in common. I have never had headaches either of the technical variety. Of the non-technical variety I am never free of one. As far as not sleeping is concerned, I find I have no trouble with insomnia during the day. My trouble is only at night.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: I sleep well at night. I sometimes find it difficult to keep awake in the day-time.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: You also made the statement, Mr. Nehru, on a previous occasion that one must journey through life alone. To rely on others invites heart-break. How heart-broken are you these days?

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: Well, as one advances in experience and age, one gets a little tougher, used to all kinds of kicks. In one's youth, the heart breaks easily, whether it is the political heart or any other. One survives that still. Many things happen which are painful, and yet one views them with greater calmness than previously and perhaps with some expectation that things may better themselves.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: We hope that you suffer less and less heart-break and that it is the result of the nations of the world coming closer and closer together.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: That is so. Ultimately, Mr. Michaelis, heart-break is always greater in regard to matters affecting one intimately. I suffer more from something that happens in India, which I think is wrong, than even a

major catastrophe outside for which I don't hold the direct responsibility. I feel a shock about it. But if some catastrophe happens to my people in front of me, that pains me very much more because that seems to mar their future.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: Governor, November 14th, two days away, will mark the 72nd anniversary of Mr. Nehru's birth. Won't you join me now in advance in wishing the Prime Minister well at his 72nd and hope that he will continue many, many more years of travelling inside India as well as outside of India?

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON: I do indeed. Sir, we are more honoured that you had occasion to come to this country at this time. I am sure we have all profited from your wisdom and philosophical understanding of our times. And I hope you never have a headache.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: Thank you, Governor. Thank you, Mr. Michaelis.

MR. ARNOLD MICHAELIS: And we wish you Godspeed on your trip home, Mr. Nehru.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: Thank you.

## AGREEMENT IN LAOS

THE BASIC DECISION arrived at by the Geneva Conference seven years ago in regard to Laos, Viet-Nam and Cambodia was that their future lay in their adopting an attitude of what is called neutrality, that is, they should not try to tie themselves up with any military bloc.

The policy succeeded largely in Cambodia because the leaders of Cambodia were popular and strong enough to stick to it and not allow too much interference from outside. In Laos, after many difficulties, the policy seemed to be succeeding about two years ago. Then pressure was brought on the International Control Commission, of which India was

Chairman, to disband or end itself and go away. The pressure was brought actually by the then Government of which the Prime Minister was Souvanna Phouma who is the neutral leader today. We felt that was a dangerous move because these Commissions, without doing anything spectacular, had been performing very important service and holding the position or preventing it from deteriorating whether in Laos or in Viet-Nam. We pointed this out. But obviously we could not continue if the Government of the country did not want us to continue. Ultimately it was agreed that the Commission should not be wound up but should adjourn indefinitely and be called back when need arose.

The moment the Commission came away, the situation in Laos started deteriorating. There was no connecting link left between the conflicting forces. The deterioration went on till the situation arrived at the stage of a crisis. There was a *coup d'etat* and another Government came in. From the north the Pathet Lao forces marched down. And many things happened. Ultimately the only way out was to get back the Commission. The Commission was sent for again, and after some weeks or months of discussion, the Commission went back and naturally the Indian Chairman went back with the Commission.

About the same time, the new Geneva Conference was held and it has been carrying on now for months and months. The persons who went to the Conference in the hope of spending two or three weeks there have been there for four or five months. While I passed through Geneva, I met the leaders of the American, British, Soviet, Indian, and one or two other delegations and they all complained about it. Anyhow they were all of the opinion that so far as their work in the Conference was concerned, it was rapidly coming to a successful end, with only minor points left, and that the next step to be taken was in Laos itself.

In fact that also had been agreed to at the previous meeting of the three princes. They met at Zurich once and elsewhere subsequently. It has been settled first of all that Laos should definitely follow a neutral policy and not be tied up with any country; secondly, it should have a National

Government, representing the various forces there; thirdly, that Souvanna Phouma should be the Prime Minister. Another step was taken. I think it was settled to have a Government of 16, consisting of four of one party, four of another party and eight of the so-called neutral group. What remained was to pick out the persons to compose this 16-member Government. The three princes have not succeeded in doing this for months; in fact they have not been able to meet to consider this question, with the grave possibility of the whole agreement breaking down after all these months of labour.

The International Commission for Laos has been trying its utmost to get the three princes together. The Commission's job is to get a government established. It is not its direct job, but being there, it wants to try to help.

The three princes, although they are cousins and half-brothers, are very much opposed to each other. They represent three completely separate forces. The nominal government that is continuing is that of Boun Oum, but the person behind him is Gen. Phoumi Nosavan. They represent, broadly, the conservative forces there. There is prince Souvanna Phouma who is supposed to be neutral. The third prince, Souphanouvong, represents the Pathet Lao. The Pathet Lao are the continuing resistance force. They resisted the French and, to some extent, the Japanese also. In the internal struggle for independence the Pathet Lao took the most prominent part. The Pathet Lao were a mixed lot. They were nationals struggling. There was a fair mixture among them of local Communists. They took help from wherever they could get it, and probably they took help from China. So the Pathet Lao is supposed to represent the pro-communist elements there.

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I HOPE THE settlement in Laos among the three princes will lead to a national government in Laos in the next few days. That will at least end the conflict in Laos. This will



no doubt have some effect over the whole Indo-China area, including Viet-Nam which is in a state of high tension. Recently the International Commission there, of which India is the Chairman, presented a report. It has been sent to the two co-chairmen of the Conference, the U.K. and Russia. It has not been published yet, but I may mention that it has pointed out infringements of the Geneva Agreement by both sides and the result is that both sides are annoyed at this report. On the one side, American troops have landed there, which is patent, and on the other side, things which are not so patent have been held to be violations of the Agreement.

The development in Laos resulted in the American authorities sending troops to Thailand. The SEATO suddenly came into action. The SEATO has been in existence for some years, but it had not functioned at all. Suddenly it functioned. It chose a moment for functioning when it was least necessary to function. However, various countries sent their armies or air forces to Thailand to protect their border with Laos. As far as I know, there was no danger to that border. Now that the people in Laos have arrived at a settlement among themselves, there can be no danger to the border and I hope that these forces in Thailand from other countries will be removed.

### THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR

AT THE PRESENT moment, there is a Conference on disarmament in Geneva which is considering the most important issue in the world today. Disarmament is the only way to put an end to the fear of war. Everybody recognizes it, and I am quite sure that disarmament will come some time or other unless by mischance we drift to war.

In Geneva there is also a small committee, which is a part of this Conference, dealing with the question of banning of nuclear tests. Perhaps the House knows that India is one

of a number of "neutral" countries represented in the Disarmament Conference. Some European countries, like Sweden, some African countries and some Asian countries have made a proposal to the Conference about the test ban and, fortunately, both the main protagonists, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, have said that it is worthy of consideration. They have not agreed to the proposal but they have not rejected it. That is a great gain.

While a search is being made for a way to put an end to the horror of nuclear tests and the piling up of armaments, we have again the beginning of further nuclear tests. I should like to read out to you what this "nuclear test" means. This is a letter from a very eminent scientist and a Nobel Prize winner, Professor Pauling, who is Professor of Chemistry at the California Institute of Technology. He sent this letter to *The New York Times*, which has published it. The journal says :

"Prof. Pauling mentioned 'two principal reasons for objecting' to the present atmospheric test series. One, this act would 'decrease the chance of success of the 17-nation Disarmament Conference and would hence increase war danger through increasing the probability of a devastating nuclear war'. The other is that the tests themselves would do damage to human beings not yet born."

We associate damage with some frightful thing happening before our eyes. The kind of damage which nuclear tests do, apart from the damage in actual war, is the radio-activity which damages millions of human beings not yet born. It says:

"According to a 'rough estimate' by him, the total toll of the current atmospheric tests in terms of 'genetic damage' will be 'about three million' deaths. He added: 'I have estimated that the recent Soviet atmospheric tests will, if the human race survives, reap a toll approaching 20,000,000 grossly defective children and embryonic and neo-natal deaths. President Kennedy's statement assures us that the number of children sacrificed to the proposed American tests would not be so great. But should we not be concerned about polluting the atmosphere with

additional radio-active materials in such a way as to cause even a few tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands of defective children and of embryonic and neo-natal deaths?"

I do not know enough to say whether this happens or not. If there is a chance of this happening, it is a terrible chance.

Therefore, it has become a matter of the most vital importance that disarmament should take place. And the first part of disarmament is for these tests to stop because they are actually doing injury, and the biggest injury they do is to make disarmament itself more difficult of achievement.

Hon. Members may perhaps know that I received a message from Mr. Bertrand Russell some days ago suggesting that we should do something not only to protest against these tests but, to some extent, to try to prevent them. He suggested that we should send a ship to Christmas Island where the tests are likely to take place as our very presence will deter the country concerned from continuing these tests. It has been quite clearly stated that if the United States Government carries on these tests, the Soviet Union will also carry on the tests. So, we will have a double dose of them in various parts of the world. I do not understand the military significance of these tests. It is said that they increase the military power of a country by enabling it to forge new weapons and new methods of using old weapons. I am a great admirer of Mr. Bertrand Russell ever since my boyhood. I might say that when his books came out, they affected me very much as they did many people of my generation. I admire particularly his crusading zeal in this matter. But the more I thought of his suggestion, the less I understood how I could send a ship to Christmas Island.

It is obvious that I could not send officially one of our warships. Mr. Bertrand Russell himself realizes that. He suggested as an alternative that we might send a tramp or some other ship with some people in it. I have not yet been able to understand how I can do it. Who will be the tramp crew? Will they be volunteers? Who will engage them or send them? All these questions arise. So, I find myself unable to

act up to this suggestion, even though I entirely agree with the urge which he has.

I have appealed previously here in this House, and I would appeal again to the great powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to desist from nuclear tests. Even if we are not certain of the saying of a man of high knowledge like Professor Pauling that it is a crime against humanity, it is a crime against the survival of the human race.

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RECENTLY AN EVENT which has certain importance from the international point of view took place in India. That was the Anti-Nuclear Arms Convention held in Delhi.

This was an important convention which dealt with a vital matter. Indeed, if one looks at the world today and the arms which have been accumulated and which continue to be accumulated, almost every other question, national or international, sinks to the background compared to this ever-present danger of a war which might put an end to civilization itself. I hope that what was done at this Anti-Nuclear Arms Convention will attract enough attention elsewhere in the world. It was essentially an Indian Convention but we had the advantage of the presence of some eminent people from the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, England and some other countries.

I was wondering if some symbol could be found for the modern world. Every age might be designated by a symbol. The present age would probably be designated best by the symbol of the mushroom cloud which comes out of an atom bomb. It has become the recognized symbol of the atom bomb and of nuclear warfare. To live under the shadow of the possibility of such a cloud arising is to live a life which is not civilized.

This leads me to the question of the nuclear tests. Ultimately it is not merely the avoidance of nuclear tests that will put an end to the danger of war, because there are vast

numbers of nuclear bombs accumulated in various countries, notably in the U.S.A. and in the Soviet Union, but there has to be an assurance of a world without war. Some people may say that it is an idealistic concept. It is true that the world has never been without war, but it is also true that the world has never lived with nuclear bombs as its bed-fellow almost. There is no doubt that a war will lead to the use of nuclear weapons and the nuclear weapons will largely destroy the world as we know it.

Even if we stop the tests, war may occur. Even if we stop the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and destroy the weapons which we have got, there is a chance, if war occurs, of those weapons being manufactured afresh by industrialized communities. Ultimately we have to aim at a world without war. There is no choice left. So we work for disarmament as a first step. Although some progress has been made at the Geneva Conference, disarmament is still far off. Nuclear tests make disarmament more difficult.

I do not know if many hon. Members present here saw the two films which were exhibited to the members of the Anti-Nuclear Arms Convention. One was a Japanese film and the other was an American or British film. Both dealt with nuclear war and they were horrible films. The whole possibility of a nuclear war occurring is a horrible idea.

So far as nuclear tests are concerned, I imagine we are arriving probably at the end of the present series of tests by America. I do not know if the Soviet Union will have a series of tests now. Experts tell me that this series of tests by the U.S.A. and by the Soviet Union will probably end for a long time to come this testing inasmuch as they have achieved their purposes. Thus virtue will come out of necessity. But it is a very painful truth that we have arrived at a stage in the world when the great powers play about with these weapons and, because they are afraid of each other, they take the risk of annihilation of mankind.

## INDEPENDENCE OF ALGERIA

I SHOULD LIKE to refer to a piece of news which appeared in this morning's papers. It announced the long-hoped-for agreement between the leaders of the Algerian people and the French Government for a cease-fire.

I doubt if we can easily find in the records of history a struggle as intensive as that waged by the Algerian people during the past seven years and more, attended by such intense suffering, and such a large number of casualties and killings. No one can deny that if a price has to be paid for freedom, the Algerian people have paid much more than any price that could have been laid down.

We should like to send our greetings and good wishes to the people of Algeria on this occasion. May I add that I should like to congratulate the other party, the French Government under President de Gaulle? While we may disagree with much that has been done by the French Government in Algeria, we must recognize that all kinds of difficulties and extraordinary conditions came in the President's way, but he adhered to his resolve to agree to the independence of Algeria and, therefore, he deserves credit for it. In coming to this agreement, there have undoubtedly been a number of compromises in which both parties have given up something to which they attached importance. Whatever has been given up does not come in the way of independence, which is the important thing.

There still remain grave difficulties in Algeria and in France because, as hon. Members know, a secret army organization, which has grown up in the past and has given a great deal of trouble, is functioning in a typically cruel, callous and fascist manner. I hope that this will cease now, and that if it does not cease, it would be dealt with adequately.

I hope that the Algerian people, after having paid such a heavy price for their independence and been conditioned by it—because it is the price that they pay in suffering and sacrifices that conditions the people—will progress

rapidly, and become a bulwark of peace and co-operation in the world.

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THE ALMOST UNANIMOUS vote of the Algerian people in the referendum for independence, and the French Government's formal acceptance of the independence of Algeria, bring to a happy end the epic story of Algeria's struggle for freedom. Surely history gives us few examples of such a valiant struggle against great odds and involving tremendous suffering and sacrifice. In a world where almost every day brings some news which distresses us, the news from Algeria has come as a tonic and a blessing.

Everyone who believes in freedom will rejoice at this happy consummation of a long struggle. We in the Government of India and the people of India are particularly happy and would like to convey our warm and fraternal greetings to the people of Algeria and their brave leaders, more especially the Provisional Government which has for so long guided and inspired their heroic struggle. We rejoice to find that the ideals which they have set before them, of social justice, secularism and non-discrimination on the basis of race, religion or creed, are ideals which we have ourselves enshrined in our Constitution. We look upon them, therefore, as partners in a common endeavour.

We would also like to congratulate President de Gaulle and his Government on bringing to an end this long-drawn-out struggle in a manner befitting the best traditions of France in the cause of human liberty, equality and fraternity.

We intend to establish diplomatic relations with free Algeria as soon as possible, and to do it in a manner most acceptable to its representatives.

## INDIA AND THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET

MR. PRIME MINISTER, I am grateful to you and to Mr. Heath for the address which you gave us yesterday. It showed how hard Mr. Heath had bargained and tried to get good terms from the Six of the European Economic Community. We are grateful to him for what he did. I must, however, confess that the ultimate picture which has emerged is hardly satisfactory. Each group of countries is somewhat differently affected.

The Prime Ministers of Canada and New Zealand have stated their views on how the present proposals affect the more developed countries. President Ayub, whose country is faced with problems similar to ours, has stated his views. I largely agree with his general approach to the problem. I shall naturally deal with the problems facing developing countries like India. I should like to make some general remarks.

You, Mr. Prime Minister, referred in your opening remarks to the world situation: the present conflict, the two world wars and the need to prevent a collision between the two great powers. You also referred to Europe's concern with the East-West conflict. We are all concerned with it. Every step which we now take must therefore be judged from this point of view, namely whether it reduces tension between the East and the West and whether it decreases the threat of war. We fear that the effect of the present proposals and the U.K.'s entry into the European Community might be the reverse and might add to the tension between the East and the West. Some East European countries have claimed that the European Common Market will lead to an extension of the Nato alliance. That may not be wholly correct, but it may well result in the increase of tension between the East and the West. The chances of disarmament would grow less. That would be a terrible loss, for disarmament will lead to greater economic progress than the creation or extension of economic communities. These are considerations which should be borne in mind in the context of the wider world situation.



Coming to the present proposals, I should like to remind you, Mr. Prime Minister, and other Prime Ministers, that there is need for a new approach of promoting a more healthy relationship between the developed and developing countries. The U.N. has declared the present decade as the decade of development. Declarations have been made in GATT that immediate steps would be taken to fix terminal dates to relax tariff and other barriers and expand exports of the developing countries. Even some members of the Six in their agreements with us in 1959 had agreed to practical measures for an increase in our exports, for example of jute goods and cotton textiles to Germany. It was expected by us that, as a result of a growing realization on their part that we could continue to import more and more from them only if we were able to export more and more, we would be able to work out trading arrangements to provide growing outlets for our products on the Continent.

This has been the general trend and approach. How far does this general approach fit in with the present proposals? I do not see them fitting in. The present proposals are vague and the approach so far made is not satisfactory. Comprehensive trade agreements are a good idea, but in the quest for what has been described as a balance of bargaining positions, the prospects of our being able to negotiate a really worth-while agreement with the enlarged community seem to us to have been seriously prejudiced.

The developing countries are struggling hard to raise the standard of living of their people and the levels of their production. It is impossible for us to import machinery and capital goods necessary for our development plans unless we can increase the level of our exports. We are grateful for the foreign aid which is largely in the shape of loans and credits. These have to be paid back with interest. We can pay them back only through increasing our exports. There is no other way.

We are in the middle of the Third Five Year Plan. The existence of trade links is important. We are thinking of our Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans in our perspective planning. We are naturally worried by the adverse effects of these

proposals on our Plans. The U.K's entry into the E.E.C. may well worsen the position not only in relation to our earnings of foreign exchange but in relation to unemployment, and might have grave social consequences from the human point of view. All this does not fit in with an international approach or an approach of GATT as it is generally accepted.

The accession of the United Kingdom to the E.E.C. means some diminution of her sovereignty. We need not be afraid of that if it leads to a world order. But it does make a difference to the Commonwealth. Curious consequences flow from it—apart from its effect on outlets of trade, flow of capital, etc. It affects human beings, for persons from the Community will have an easier access. All this will weaken the concept of the Commonwealth. I do not see how the Commonwealth will survive unless a radical change is made in the present proposals.

Over the years economic relations inside the Commonwealth have developed in a manner so as to make it possible for countries like India to expand the export of their products to the British market and to increase imports from the United Kingdom. I was surprised to hear these economic relations described as characteristic of a period which was passing away. It is true that we did not like the Ottawa Agreements, because when they were concluded most of the gains accrued to the United Kingdom. It is only lately that duty-free imports into the United Kingdom and preferential arrangements over the Commonwealth as a whole have helped us to build up a sizeable trade in our manufactures, a trade which has proved beneficial not only to ourselves but also to the United Kingdom. The provisions of these agreements make a good basis for evolving a constructive relationship between the developing and developed countries. How can these agreements be abandoned without adequate substitutes being found for them, perhaps over a wider field? It is the old concept, the colonial concept or something like that, which seems to form, not wholly but to a large extent, the basis of the present proposals.

We are grateful for the decision of a nil duty on tea and on a few other interesting articles, like cricket balls, bats and

polo sticks. I hope the Prime Minister of Australia will create interest in cricket on the Continent of Europe. These are very small items of our export. Tea is, of course, a big item, but it cannot be produced in most countries except in India, Ceylon and a few others.

The main object seems to be the controlling of industries and markets of industrial goods of the developing countries. Reference has been made to our bargaining for trade agreements in the future, but our prospects have been greatly prejudiced. An esoteric value is attached to the Community's external tariff. We had every reason to expect that in evolving the level of this tariff for our products, due account would be taken of the volume of duty-free imports from our countries into the United Kingdom and due attention would also be paid to the conditions in which countries in the process of development are able to market their industrial products. But the negotiators have already accepted the full tariff of the Community for our products and agreed on the steps by which this level will be reached. We have repeatedly urged that unless the *status quo* is maintained for our products in the United Kingdom during the transitional period, there will be little scope left for successfully negotiating practical measures for the expansion of our exports to the enlarged Community.

Textiles are important for us. Quantitative limitations do provide more than adequate safeguards. Where is the need for additional tariffs? They are not necessary. Only we will lose foreign exchange on them. The arrangements on jute goods are even more odd. While facilities are provided for increased imports from the Six into the United Kingdom, controls on our imports for which there is no justification even at present are proposed to be kept on till 1970.

High tariffs are rightly regarded as a barrier to trade expansion. In order to avoid the barrier erected by the Community, the United Kingdom is seeking to join the Market. But in the case of a developing country like India, whose need to increase exports is greater and whose difficulties in increasing exports are manifold, it is proposed to erect a tariff where none existed before. The solution to the problem which concerns not only India but other developing countries



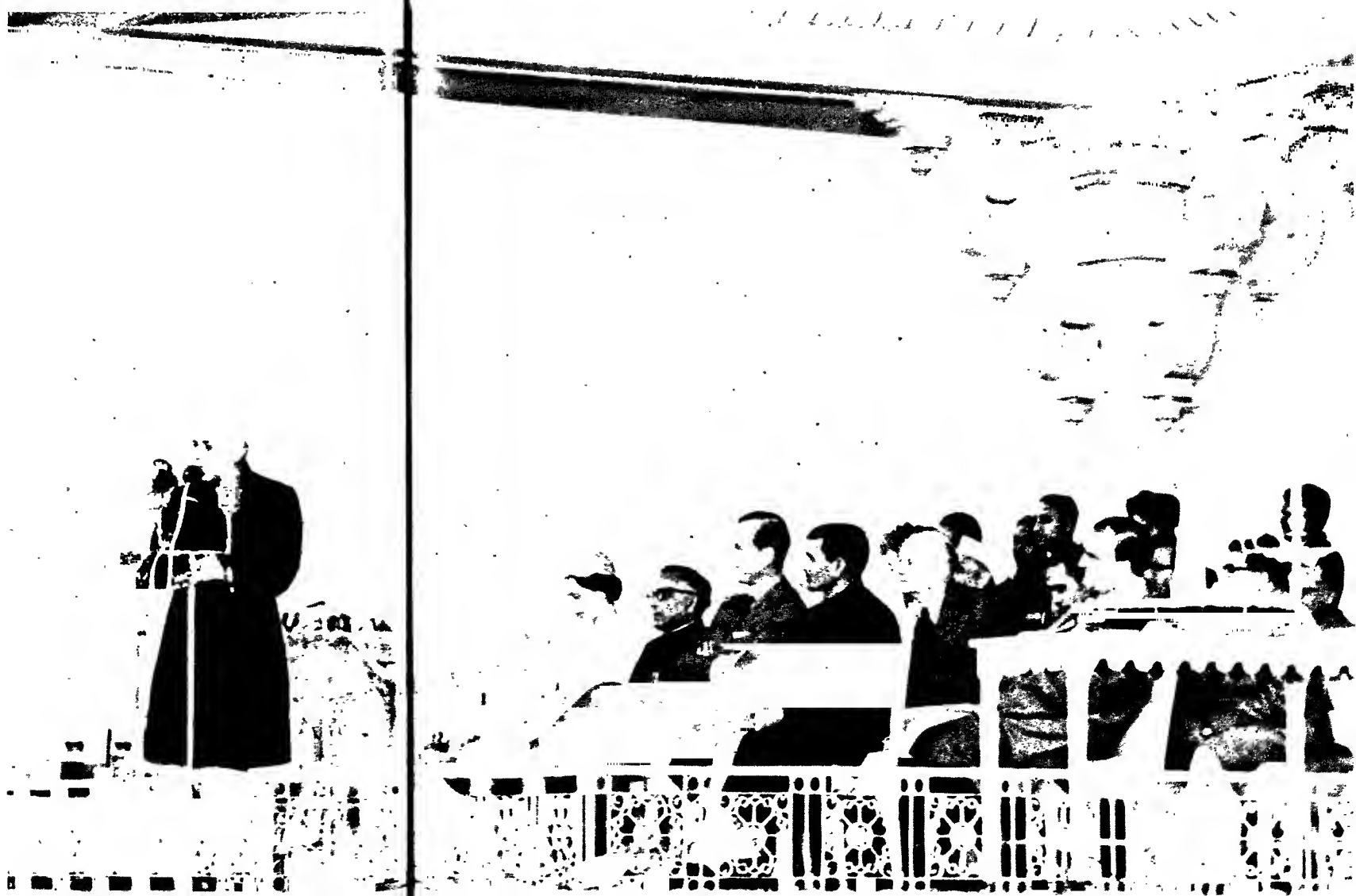
*Broadcasting to the Nation on the night of October 22, 1962, following the massive Chinese incursion of India*

*Inaugurating the session of the International Congress of Jurists, New Delhi, January 1959*





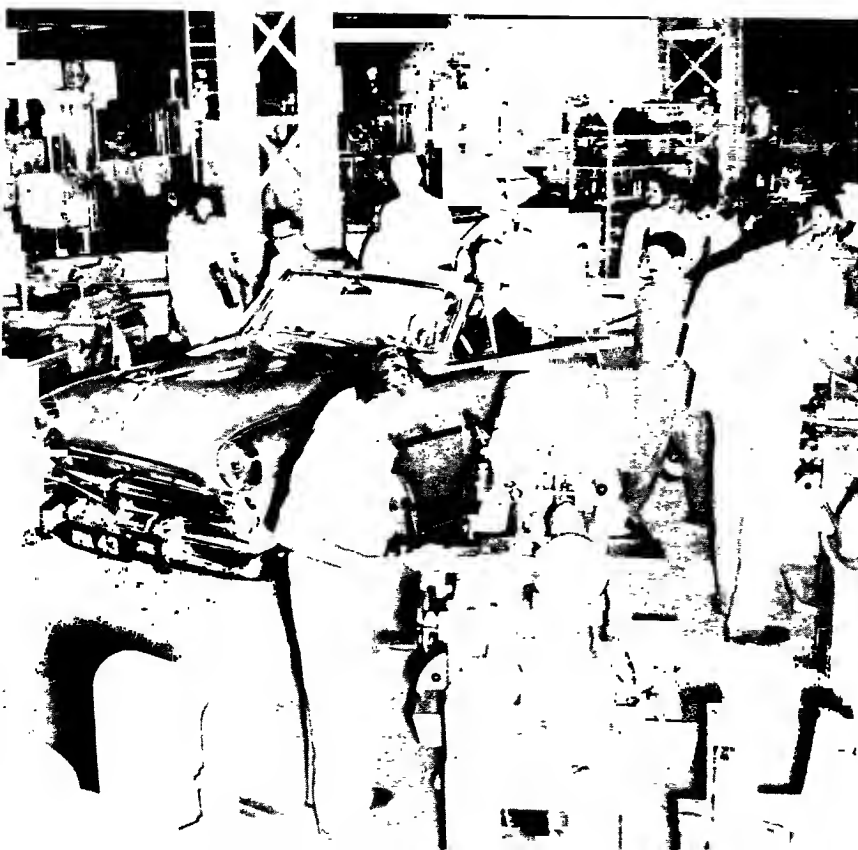
*Inaugurating the fifth annual conference of State  
Social Welfare Advisory Boards, New Delhi,  
March 1959*



*Welcoming Her Majesty Queen  
Elizabeth and H. R. H. the Duke of  
Edinburgh at the civic reception, New  
Delhi, January 1961*



*With Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, leaving the Ramlila grounds after the reception*



*Inside the second Hindustan Machine Tools factory at Bangalore before performing its inauguration, July 1951*

in and outside the Commonwealth lies in extending duty-free treatment to as wide a list of items as possible and to lower the tariffs on the rest. I do not see how else this problem can be solved.

There are a number of items like tobacco, coir mats and hand-knotted carpets, on which no decisions have yet been reached. A large number of our people are employed in concentrated areas on producing these items. Their exports are largely to the United Kingdom. There will be considerable unemployment if their future is not safeguarded.

We are terribly anxious to modernize our agriculture and develop our industries. This is a problem of urgent need and importance to us. Our economy will be badly hit and it will take us many many years to come back even to the existing level if the present proposals are accepted. Even the developed countries in affluent circumstances do realize that the poorer countries must grow and be provided wider markets. It is a short-sighted policy to ignore the needs of the developing countries. If the United Kingdom joins the Common Market, it will be on the other side of the barrier. It will become more difficult for India to expand her exports and opportunities for the future will remain uncertain. I do not wish to go into details but I would submit the following:

(1) Any agreement made must help in the wider context of the world and not increase tension.

(2) It is essential generally from the world point of view to develop industrially the countries that are not developed today. This is even more important from the Commonwealth point of view.

(3) We must develop all countries industrially and not confine some countries to producing agricultural raw materials; otherwise we shall create fresh tension. It will create disturbance in the immediate present in the economies of the developing countries.

(4) The proposals will upset India's Third Five Year Plan. We shall have to adjust and may have to change our whole trade patterns. We must not ignore this.

Other developing countries will have to face similar problems.

I can imagine that it may be good for the United Kingdom to enter the Common Market. I am no judge of that, but it is not clear to me how any good can come if it causes harm to the Commonwealth.

The developing countries of Asia and Africa will face these problems. The sooner they develop the better it will be for world peace and world order. I would, therefore, submit that these proposals be considered further and changes made in the direction I have hinted. The proposals at present are not good even for the advanced countries of the Community. They tend to lead to a closed circle which may offer to those who are inside it some benefit now but will not be ultimately for their good.

### A CLASH AVERTED

**QUESTION:** REGARDING CUBA. I would like to know whether it was Mr. Kennedy's triumph or Mr. Khrushchev's.

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** I think both President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev deserve congratulations because of the manner in which this issue which could very nearly result in a nuclear war was resolved peacefully.

**QUESTION:** May I have the privilege of asking what you think has been the greatest event in 1962?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** So far as we are concerned, the fact which affected us is the Chinese invasion. From the world point of view also this has had some effect. But I think the prevention of a nuclear war, which might have come because of Cuba, has been a very big thing. It shows that the nuclear powers are very reluctant to go into this kind of war. That is a very healthy sign, and this may lead to further *rapprochement* on various matters that are in conflict.



## CHANGING INDIA

AUGUST 1947 BROUGHT independence to India. In spite of the long-drawn-out struggle that preceded it, it came in peace and goodwill. Suddenly all bitterness of past conflict was forgotten and a new era of peace and friendship began. Our relations with Britain became friendly and we appeared to have no inherited problems and conflicts with any other country.

We had been conditioned for 30 years by Mahatma Gandhi and his gospel of peace which had left a powerful imprint not only on the minds of those actively interested in politics but also on the mass mind. Our success in attaining freedom through peaceful methods confirmed this way of thinking. Thus we entered the family of independent nations with a clean slate, without any inherited hatreds or enmities or territorial or other ambitions, determined to cultivate friendly and co-operative relations with all countries and to devote ourselves to the economic and social progress of India without getting entangled in national or international conflicts.

India had become free, but there were still some small parts of it under French and Portuguese control which were under colonial domination. Thus in our minds the freedom of India was not quite complete. We felt certain that France and Portugal would also follow the British example and that these enclaves of colonial territory would inevitably, and through peaceful methods, join independent India. We made the necessary approaches to the French and Portuguese Governments. The French enclaves became a part of the Union of India peacefully by agreement with France. Portugal proved much more intractable and gave a lot of trouble. There was serious trouble in 1955 involving the killing and wounding of many Indian and Goan passive resisters by Portuguese soldiers. There was also severe internal repression in Goa. Such incidents continued, and it was only after some show of military force, following further incidents in 1961, that this

last remnant of colonial rule in India was ended. After that the independence of India was complete.

August 1947 brought long-cherished freedom to our country. But in the wake of it came the partition of India and, immediately after, mass killing on both sides of the new frontier and vast migrations. We had hoped that the partition of India, which was brought about by agreement, would lead to the creation of two States which would be friendly neighbours and would co-operate with each other. That was natural, as not only geography but a common history and culture and the same language and many other factors common to both would, we thought, inevitably lead to friendly co-operation.

But this was not to be. The events after the partition left a trail of great bitterness. We were trying to get over the immediate results of the partition, when the State of Kashmir was suddenly invaded from Pakistan and a new conflict arose. To us, trained and conditioned as we had been by Mahatma Gandhi, this came as a shock, for we had hoped that there would be no military conflicts with any other nation. After 14 months, a cease-fire was agreed to and actual fighting stopped. Since then, although the Kashmir problem remained with us and gave a great deal of trouble, feelings in both countries gradually lost their bitterness and approached normality, in so far as the whole people were concerned.

We devoted ourselves to the major problem that confronted us—economic and social progress and the betterment of our people. Even before independence, we had given much thought to this matter and had come to the conclusion that we should proceed by the method of planning. Our resources were limited, and we wanted to utilize them to the best advantage to attain declared objectives. After independence, a Constituent Assembly was formed to draw up the new Constitution of India; this declared that India was to be a sovereign, democratic Republic which should secure for all its citizens: justice—social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity. And among them all it

was to promote fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

On January 26, 1950, this new Republic came into existence and all our efforts were directed towards realizing the objectives laid down—political democracy and economic justice. We called the objective socialistic without adhering to any doctrinaire definition of the word. The system we evolved was consciously directed towards the welfare of the common man rather than to enrichment of the few; it is democratic because its processes are ultimately controlled by public discussion and by Parliament elected on the basis of universal adult franchise, and not by the secret purposes of a privileged minority.

While benefiting from foreign experience—more especially, in the constitutional sense, of England and the United States—we did not wish to copy any foreign models. We believed that India had, by virtue of her long history and traditions, an individuality of her own and we should retain this without adhering to outworn ideas or traditions. We realized that the world was rapidly changing and we must keep pace with these changes without being swept away by them. We wanted to help, however modestly, in this developing pattern of international relations. We had no desire to interfere with other countries or impose our views on them. Thus, India started changes in her own life and institutions that are so decisive and far-reaching in their scope and intent that they may well be considered revolutionary, especially when viewed against the background of an ancient civilization and its ingrained conservatism. In foreign affairs, in a period when cataclysmic conflicts seem never too far below the horizon, she has invariably taken her stand with those who are striving for the maintenance of peace and for reconciliation and co-operation.

The twin policies which have guided us since independence are, broadly, democratic planning for development at home and, externally, a policy which has come to be named, rather inadequately, “non-alignment”. Like the basic policies of most countries, these are not the product of any inspiration or arbitrary choice, but have their roots in our past history and

way of thinking as well as in fundamental national exigencies. India's over-riding and most urgent task is to raise the standard of living of her people, and in order to achieve this, to carry out structural and organizational reforms not only as speedily as possible but with maximum popular support and participation. In foreign affairs, we had no interest other than to cultivate friendly co-operation with all countries and to help to keep world peace as the *sine qua non* of everything else. In our approach to these problems, our attitude and ideas had inevitably been shaped by our own recent struggle for freedom, as well as by the accumulated experience of centuries, and above all by Mahatma Gandhi's teachings.

It is no sign of complacency to recognize that these policies have met with an encouraging measure of success. India, with a population of 446 millions and an electorate of over 200 millions, remains the largest functioning democracy in the world. Without deviating from democratic principles and procedures, she has launched upon extensive programmes of modernization which are already bearing fruit. Far-reaching land reforms have taken place and our economy, still predominantly agricultural, is being steadily transformed by the spread of industrialization and the completion of vast new projects in the fields of power, transport and irrigation. Our Community Development schemes represent a rural reconstruction programme which promises to transform the countryside and the vast population that live there. Recently, the Community Development movement has been extended to what is called panchayati raj; that is, there has been decentralization in favour of village-elected councils which have been given authority and resources to carry out schemes of development. Both industrial and agricultural production have increased substantially in volume as well as variety, and every effort is being made to ensure that the benefits of an expanding economy are shared equitably by all classes of the population. Education has spread remarkably at all stages and there are at present over 50,000,000 boys and girls in schools and colleges. Special attention has been paid to scientific and technical education. The health conditions of the people have also made substantial progress. In the 1940s the expectation

of life in India was 32; now it is approaching 50. Our planning, designed to equip the country with the technical skills and the productive facilities of a modern society, is essentially welfare-oriented. Two Five Year Plans have been completed and the third is now in mid-course.

What is called "non-alignment" has also not fared badly. This, strictly speaking, represents only one aspect of our policy; we have other positive aims also, such as the promotion of freedom from colonial rule, racial equality, peace and international co-operation, but "non-alignment" has become a summary description of this policy of friendship toward all nations, uncompromised by adherence to any military pacts. This was not due to any indifference to issues that arose, but rather to a desire to judge them for ourselves, in full freedom and without any preconceived partisan bias. It implied basically a conviction that good and evil are mixed up in this world, that the nations cannot be divided into sheep and goats, to be condemned or approved accordingly, and that if we were to join one military group rather than the other it was liable to increase and not diminish the risk of a major clash between them. Essentially, "non-alignment" is freedom of action which is a part of independence. This attitude no doubt displeased some people to begin with, but it has been of service to the cause of world peace at some critical moments in recent history. A large number of countries, including most of the newly independent States of Asia and Africa, have adopted a similar outlook on international affairs. It is possible that India has influenced their thinking to some extent in this matter; but, however that may be, "non-alignment" is now an integral part of the international pattern and is widely conceded to be a comprehensible and legitimate policy, particularly for the emergent Afro-Asian States.

Consistent with our policy of promotion of peace and international co-operation, we welcomed the end of the civil war in our neighbouring country China and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in December 1949. We began developing friendly and co-operative relations with our northern neighbour.

The wanton and massive invasion of last autumn has.

however, brought an incalculable, ominous and explosive new element into the situation. Peking's propagandists have tried to sow confusion in the public mind over this; but no amount of sophistry can conjure away the fact that the People's Republic of China is guilty of premeditated aggression. In 1954 India and China signed a general treaty on Tibet, in the preamble of which both parties pledged themselves to mutual non-aggression and respect of each other's territorial integrity. At that date, China knew precisely what the extent of India's territorial jurisdiction was; India, on the other hand, was not only not aware of the Chinese claims (they were not disclosed until five years later), but she had no reason even to suspect that there was any major question about the frontier.

All the fighting that has taken place, and the forcible seizure of territory by China, has been to the south and west—that is, on the Indian side—of the frontier as implicitly accepted by China herself in 1954. At no point have Indian troops ever gone beyond that line. The charge of aggression against the People's Republic of China thus holds, regardless of the controversy about the correct delineation of the border. This subject has been voluminously documented; what needs to be said here is that India's northern frontiers are not the result of any British imperialistic expansion, achieved in violation of China's rights or interests, but have their sanction in the facts of geography and history, and the generally accepted principles of international law.

It is difficult to forecast the further course of this dispute. Recently some non-aligned powers took the initiative in making certain proposals which, if accepted, could lead to talks between India and China on the merits of the question. We have accepted these proposals in their entirety. China has thus far not done so. We have suggested that we are prepared to refer these frontier disputes to the International Court of Justice at The Hague or to arbitration.

The initiative lies always with the aggressor, and the Chinese have been exceptionally devious and deceptive in their methods. What has happened so far serves to define, more clearly than before, certain considerations which must continue to govern our attitude and policy on this question.

First, it would be wrong and inexpedient, and also repugnant to every sentiment of national honour and self-respect, to acquiesce in aggression as plainly established as it is in this case. We must, therefore, insist that the aggression be undone to our satisfaction before normal relations can be restored. Whether a peaceful settlement can eventually be reached, therefore, depends largely on China.

Secondly, despite our friendliness, China's behaviour toward us has shown such utter disregard of the ordinary canons of international behaviour that it has shaken severely our confidence in her good faith. We cannot, on the available evidence, look upon her as other than a country with profoundly inimical intentions toward our independence and institutions.

Thirdly, the Himalayan barrier has proved to be vulnerable. If it is breached, the way to the Indian plains and the ocean beyond would lie exposed; and the threat to India would then, likewise, be a threat to the other countries of South and South-east Asia. India's determination to resist aggression and retain her territorial integrity is, therefore, a vital factor in the safeguarding of peace and stability throughout this whole area.

This is no doubt appreciated by all the friendly countries whom we have asked for military and other assistance in the present emergency; and the prompt response that the request evoked, particularly from the United States and Great Britain, has been warmly acknowledged by the Government of India and the leaders of Indian opinion. It is obvious, however, that the defence of India in any long-term view calls for a sustained effort by India herself—an effort, moreover, which cannot be conceived entirely or directly in narrow military terms. In the past, our preoccupation with the human problems of poverty and illiteracy was such that we were content to assign a relatively low priority to defence requirements in the conventional sense. We will now clearly have to give considerably more attention to strengthening our armed forces and to the production within the country, to the extent possible, of all weapons and equipment needed by them.

Measures to this end have already been taken in hand.

But, over and above these, even for the specific purpose of defence, the prime requisite is a solid and broad-based economy and a population increasingly trained to make full use of the resources of modern science and technology. Our development plans and programmes have had precisely these objectives; and with such modifications and minor changes in emphasis as may be necessary, it is, if anything, more essential than ever to press forward with them. We are aware that the additional burden on our resources, entailed by the larger defence expenditure, must in any event call for further sacrifices on our part. We are making these sacrifices and are determined to carry through the current Five Year Plan without any significant scaling down. We hope external aid in adequate measure will be available in support of this special effort.

I have mentioned earlier that Indo-Pakistan relations had been steadily improving in recent years. The Chinese attack on India has, however, caused a setback. Pakistan authorities tended to regard the crisis in Sino-Indian relations as an opportunity to press India to make all sorts of concessions to them.

A new series of talks has been started between the two countries, and we in India would be the first to rejoice if they helped to ease the tension. Without prejudging the outcome of these discussions, it may be said, however, that they have no direct bearing on the problems we face with regard to China. The boundary to be protected delimits the territories of the Indian State and their defence is the responsibility of the Indian Government. What India needs is not manpower but weapons and other military equipment, which in the short run she must get from other sources, and in the long run manufacture herself.

Pakistan, like other States, can help by refraining from giving aid and encouragement to China and thereby enabling her to multiply her pressures against us. Unfortunately, the attitude of Pakistan ever since the Chinese aggression on India has been the reverse of this, and this has undoubtedly added to our difficulties. We are eager to come to agreement with Pakistan in regard to Kashmir and other problems, but it must



be remembered that the question of moving toward a possible change in Kashmir is so pregnant with explosive possibilities that any incautious step might have far-reaching effects involving the internal stability of the sub-continent, and thus weaken instead of strengthen our defences. Also the settlement reached must be such that it makes for permanent improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations.

The conflict provoked by Chinese aggression raises wider issues than the simple demarcation of a remote border. It is difficult to understand why China chose to conceal her territorial claims for many years, pleading subsequently that "the time was not ripe" for revising her maps; or why she had to mount large-scale, concerted attacks from one end to the other of the two-thousand-mile-long frontier; or why she rejects any approach to settlement other than through bilateral negotiations in the context of military force; or why she has been conducting world-wide anti-Indian propaganda denouncing the whole range of India's policies and depicting India as a tool of reactionaries and imperialists.

The fact appears to be that China's anti-Indian policy flows from her general analysis of the international situation, and reflects the aims and assumptions underlying her foreign policy as a whole. This policy itself, while formally subscribing to such ideals as peace and co-existence—though in the special Chinese meaning of these terms—leaves no room for non-alignment. If the world is viewed as divided essentially between imperialists and communists, between whom war not only is inevitable in the end, but between whom tension in some form must be kept alive and even intensified as opportunity occurs, then there is indeed no place in it for the non-aligned. The non-aligned nations must, in this context, seem to be occupying an unstable, anomalous position from which if they could be dislodged either by cajolery or coercion, the result would be to accentuate the polarization of world forces. It is logical to conclude that China's multiple campaign against India is an exercise in *realpolitik* on these lines. India is such an outstanding member of the non-aligned community that her defection, whether voluntary or enforced, cannot fail to bring grave and far-reaching consequences in its train.

If this analysis is well-founded, the challenge from China, as it has revealed itself, is not only to our foreign policy but to our domestic policy as well. Both are rooted in our needs and interests, and spring from the same cultural outlook and the same scale of moral values. Tolerance, friendliness, the protection of the rights and dignity of the individual, peaceful settlement of disputes, the persistent effort to reach agreement through compromise and persuasion—these are the values we have been trying to uphold, imperfectly no doubt, in the conduct of our internal affairs. They represent a way of life, if I may so put it, a way of life that is anathema to the ruling ideologists in Peking, with their faith in power and violence as the instruments of benevolent change.

We are far from being averse to change, we have embarked upon far-reaching changes and we propose to persevere with our plans and programmes; but we are convinced that the methods by which changes are brought about are at least as important as the changes themselves. Means are more important than ends—this was the basic policy on which Mr. Gandhi laid constant stress. We believe that any change should come about through our own volition, as a result of our own experience, and that it should not be foisted on us through any kind of force or pressure. In the pursuit of change, we should seek to carry the mass of the people with us and win their support. This way of dealing with our problems may not result in as swift or spectacular a transformation as we might wish, but at least the progress achieved will have a solid basis in the nation's consent and avoid a degree of dislocation and disorganization that we can ill afford.

It is in this spirit that we have set our hands to the task of developing, in this ancient land, a system combining political democracy and economic justice.

Can this enterprise survive the new strains and tensions? The question goes to the heart of the issues involved in the present conflict, and the answer lies only in part, though perhaps in large part, with us in India. I am confident in my own mind that we cannot let ourselves be panicked into abandoning either the goal or the methods of our policy as

I have stated it. The attack from across the Himalayas undoubtedly gave us a severe jolt; it aroused anger and disgust at what we felt to be a wanton betrayal of friendship. The immediate reaction was a spontaneous wave of national unity submerging all other disputes and dissensions. Even if some of them are revived, they are bound to be heavily coloured by the implications of China's policy for our security as well as for other aspects of our life.

In India there are groups which may be called Right and others which may be called Left. But the antithesis between Right and Left is not so clear-cut as in some other parts of the world, or as widely permeating in its intellectual and political language. To the vast mass of our people, the reality is a deeply felt but undoctrinaire demand for better economic and social conditions, to which has now been added a troubled awareness of the Chinese threat and of the paramount need for safeguarding the nation's independence and integrity. This is the basic situation that our policies are designed to meet. Undoubtedly, grave new problems have arisen which we did not previously anticipate and which could conceivably disturb our internal equilibrium. The diversion of resources to military preparedness may slow down to some extent the improvement in living conditions, and we will have to adapt ourselves, psychologically also, to the presence of a powerful and hostile neighbour. These are highly unwelcome and distasteful necessities, and their emergence has prompted an earnest reappraisal of the course we have been following these last 15 years. That reappraisal, however, has convinced us that the basic policies we pursued in earlier years should not be changed, but should only be adjusted in order to meet the new dangers that face us.

The central fact is that the impact of China, whether it again takes an acute military form or makes itself felt more insidiously, is forcing the pace of growth in India. Both the Right and the Left have been affected, and the nation as a whole is growing up. It is learning that in the world today it is not enough to be devoted to peace, or to mind one's own affairs, but that it is also necessary to have adequate armed strength, to adjust our relations with friendly countries in the

light of the changing actualities of the international situation and, above all, to preserve and consolidate national unity.

There is an inter-play of domestic and external factors here which no one can ignore; our responses will inevitably be affected by the policies that others adopt towards us. While uncertainties are inherent in the situation, the political ferment that has been at work in India during the past few months has confirmed for us the essential and continuing validity of the principles on which we have hitherto taken our stand. The defence of our freedom and the social progress to which we aspire can best be assured in our view by the flexible democratic structure that we have evolved for ourselves. This is not only in conformity with our larger interests, but also with the larger interests of the world.

The Right in India has become more clamorous, basing itself on an extreme form of nationalism; the Left, though also nationalistic, is to some extent weakened. The Communist Party of India is in disarray, and the great majority of it has condemned Chinese aggression and declared itself in favour of the national stand. There is much heart-searching even in the Congress Party. But, on the whole, the picture that is emerging confirms the domestic and general agreement about the necessity for increasing our armed strength for defence. If the frontier situation should deteriorate, we would naturally consider it desirable to take measures to tighten up the central authority. That is something that is likely to happen in a crisis under any system of government. But, even so, the basic democratic structure will, I think, continue.

It is pertinent to note that the Soviet Union and the Communist States of Europe allied to it have not considered it necessary to change their friendly attitude toward India in spite of open Chinese hostility toward us. Indeed, they have continued their aid to India in various ways. This implies a recognition on their part that India and other non-aligned countries have a vital role in the existing balance of forces.

I have endeavoured to give, above, some explanation of the basic policy which China appears to be following in regard to India. It may be that this policy is partly affected by the

growing rift between the Soviet Union and China. This may have led China to demonstrate, by her attack on India, that non-alignment has no reality and that the Soviet policy toward the non-aligned countries is wrong; the only right course is to work for a polarization of forces in the world. This might, according to Chinese thinking, justify their ideological difference with the Soviet Union.

Whatever temporary military success the Chinese may have gained by their aggression on India, I think it would be correct to say that they have failed thus far in their main endeavour. Not only have they converted a friendly country like India into one basically hostile to them and united and determined against them, but the policy of non-alignment has not broken down and stands confirmed. China has lost the goodwill of most of the non-aligned countries and even of many of her communist allies. She stands isolated today.

Ever since the cease-fire and the Colombo proposals, the immediate excitement of day-to-day fighting on the border has naturally toned down. But it is generally recognized that the menace from China is a continuing one, and we must therefore prepare to meet it, whatever developments might take place in the near future.

The future is uncertain. But it may be said with some confidence that, while India continues to strengthen herself for defence, she is anxious that her economic development should not be impeded because of the increased expenditure on armaments. There is an increasing realization that this double burden must be borne by our people. There is also the hope that our friends abroad will help us by sharing this burden to some extent. But we realize that in any event the people of India will have to carry the main load.

Whatever happens in India or elsewhere will be governed to some extent by international developments. Happily, there have been indications recently that a new phase may well be opening in international relations. Cuba suddenly revealed to us the thermo-nuclear brink on which we are all poised; it also brought reassuring evidence of restraint and moderation in high places, without which we cannot be sure of surviving the dangerous days yet to come. It may be that the cold war

and the East-West antagonism of the 1950s will be gradually softened and transformed by the new pressures that have emerged within each bloc, as well as by the insistent demand of the "uncommitted" countries for a systematic and world-wide assault on hunger, disease and ignorance. But war, and nuclear war at that, still remains the spectre which must be exorcized before mankind can breathe freely again. That is why disarmament, particularly the abolition of nuclear weapons, beginning with the cessation of all further tests, is of such supreme importance. The technology of the arms race is acquiring a fearful momentum of its own, and is rapidly reaching a point where, if it is not checked and reversed in time, it may well pose insuperable problems of organized social control. The responsibility for this naturally rests, in the first place, with the principal nuclear powers, and we must hope that they will be equal to it.

Meanwhile, Indo-American relations have seldom been as close and cordial as they are now. The deep sympathy and practical support received from the United States in meeting the Chinese aggression has created a wealth of good feeling and, apart from that, there is much in common between us on essentials. President Kennedy's vision of a world of free and independent nations, freely co-operating so as to bring about a world-wide system of inter-dependence, is entirely in accord with our own ideas. It is in this spirit that we have endeavoured to collaborate in peaceful and constructive work with the new Afro-Asian States, and Britain and other Commonwealth countries with whom we have a long historical association. It is in this spirit also that we are doing our best to further the purposes of the United Nations as, most recently, in the Congo.

The United Nations admittedly has numerous shortcomings. The government of a country representing a large part of the world's population is still not subject to the discipline and the responsibilities that membership in the world organization would impose. Often, moreover, the judgment and activities of the United Nations have been swayed or inhibited by the passions and prejudices of the cold war. None the less, the United Nations is the chief repository of our hopes

for ever closer and more effective international co-operation for security as well as welfare. It is dedicated to peace, freedom and justice—noble ideals which embody the aspirations of all mankind—and it may yet lead us out of this fear- and strife-ridden age into a more settled future when the full potentialities of science and technology could be applied to the well-being of all peoples.

**MAULANA AZAD**

**M**R. SPEAKER, SIR: It has fallen to my lot often to refer in this House to the death of a colleague or a great man. I have to perform that sad duty again today in regard to one who was with us a few days ago and who passed away rather suddenly, producing a sense of deep sorrow and grief not only to his colleagues in Parliament but to innumerable people all over the country.

It has become almost a commonplace, when a prominent person passes away, to say that he is irreplaceable. That is often true; yet I believe that it is literally and absolutely true in regard to the passing away of Maulana Azad. We have had great men and we will have great men, but I do submit that the peculiar and special type of greatness which Maulana Azad represented is not likely to be reproduced in India or anywhere else.

I need not refer to his many qualities, his deep learning, his scholarship and his great oratory. He was a great writer. He was great in many ways. He combined in himself the greatness of the past with the greatness of the present. He always reminded me of the great men of several hundred years ago about whom I have read in history, the great men of the Renaissance, or in a later period, the encyclopaedists who preceded the French Revolution, men of intellect and men of action. He reminded also of what might be called the great quality of olden days—the graciousness, a certain courtesy or tolerance or patience which we sadly seek in the world today. Even though we may seek to reach the moon, we do it with a lack of graciousness or of tolerance or of some things which have made life worth-while since life began. It was the strange and unique mixture of the good qualities of



the past, the graciousness, the deep learning and toleration, and the urges of today which made Maulana Azad what he was.

Everyone knows that even in his early teens he was filled with the passion for freeing India and he turned towards ways even of violent revolution. Soon after he realized that violence was not the way which would gain results.

Maulana Azad was a very special representative in a high degree of the great composite culture which had gradually grown in India. He, in his own venue, in Delhi or in Bengal where he spent the greater part of his life, represented this synthesis of various cultures which had flowed in and lost themselves in the ocean of Indian life and humanity, affecting and changing them and being changed themselves by them. He came to represent more specially the culture of India as influenced by the cultures of the nations of Western Asia, namely, the Persian culture and the Arabic culture which have affected India for thousands of years. In that sense, I can hardly conceive of any other person who can replace him, because the age which produced him is past. A few of us have some faint idea of that age which is past.

Change is essential lest we should become rooted to some past habit. But I cannot help expressing a certain feeling of regret that with the bad, the good of the past days is also swept away and that good was eminently represented by Maulana Azad.

There is one curious error to the expression of which I have myself been guilty about Maulana Azad's life and education. Even this morning the newspapers contained a resolution of the Government about Maulana Azad. It is stated that he went and studied at Al Azhar University. He did not do so. It is an extraordinary persistence of error. As I said, I myself thought so. Otherwise, I would have taken care to correct it in the Government resolution. The fact is that he did not study at Al Azhar University. Of course, he went to Cairo and he visited Al Azhar University. He studied elsewhere. He studied chiefly in Calcutta, in the Arabic schools as well as in other schools. He spent a number of years in Arabia. He was born there and he visited Egypt

as he visited other countries of Western Asia.

We mourn today the passing of a great man, a man of luminous intelligence and mighty intellect with an amazing capacity to pierce through a problem to its core. The word "luminous" is perhaps the best word I can use about his mind. When we miss and when we part with such a companion, friend, colleague, comrade, leader and teacher, there is inevitably a tremendous void created in our life and activities.

### THE GROWTH OF DEFENCE SCIENCE

ALL OF US are interested in defence, and an increasing number of us are interested in science. Science which plays such an important part in our world today has a tendency to play tricks with humanity. It gives us a great deal of power. It gives us defence and then gives us something more powerful which will overcome that defence.

The whole question of defence has become different from what it was in the past. We recoil with horror at the prospect of war, because not only it destroys in a physical sense but it destroys the mind and heart and everything that is worthwhile. Even without war we see how human beings and nations are filled with hatred and violence. How do we meet this contingency? Not in a sense of helplessness, because helplessness breeds fear. And I do not think that there is anything worse for an individual or for a group or for a nation than to suffer from fear. Almost every evil arises from fear. An odd aspect is that the countries which happen to be advanced in the art of war and in defence science and have enormous strength suffer from a tremendous deal of fear. They fear each other. It is an extraordinary phenomenon. Therefore, I have often wondered how we can build up our defence science other than on a lack of fear. That is probably a subject which is not considered by Dr. Kothari and his colleagues.

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From speech at the Defence Science Organization, New Delhi, April 3, 1958

I have no doubt that all the defence science in the world and all the weapons in the world are worth nothing if there is not fearlessness behind them. On the other hand, there is the danger that we get rather complacent, and develop the Maginot Line mentality, a phrase that has grown up since the last great world war. We build up some kind of a wall and think that we are protected, although such protection does not exist.

I talked about fearlessness. One is always afraid of something which one does not know. For example, a person who has never handled an ordinary rifle is afraid of the rifle as a dangerous weapon. Today a rifle may be an ordinary weapon, but those who have not handled it may think it a frightfully dangerous weapon. Our people learn rifle shooting. It is not that I want them to shoot but I want them to get used to the rifle and not be afraid of it for the reason that they have never touched it. If they know how to use it, they cease to be frightened of it. That should apply to bigger weapons. We should not be ignorant of them and therefore afraid of them. We should be able to deal with a situation that might arise in which somebody else may use these weapons. Secondly, knowledge of any kind gives one a little more confidence than ignorance. What I am driving at is that whatever be our line of approach to the problem of defence, we cannot afford to be complacent. Indeed, we have to base our future on the growth of scientific knowledge, not only in the field of defence but in every field.

Science has, unfortunately perhaps, advanced more under the stress of war than under the stress of peace. But today no country can advance in peace or war except with a full knowledge of modern science and technology. In India we are doing work in the field of science in our own way. About a month or six weeks ago, the Government of India published a resolution on science which outlined the nation's approach to science. It was an indication to the country at large how things were moving and how people were thinking. There can be no doubt that we have to advance by the application of scientific methods and techniques in all fields, and more especially in a field like defence.

I welcome this conference. I am very glad that our Defence Science Department has been doing good work under Dr. Kothari. Having said so, I would again like to remind you of a fact which is basic. The defence of the country today or at any time depends on the morale and the state of the country even more than on the weapons which it may possess. Is the country contented or discontented? An answer to this question is more important ultimately than any weapon. We cannot allow that aspect of the country to suffer merely by thinking of trained armies, navies, and air forces, equipped with the latest arms. I would rather have no army, no navy and no air force than have a fine army, a fine navy and a fine air force with the people behind them ill-fed and supine. So we come back to the position that the best defence is the quality of the people. The best defence internationally is the friendship of other nations. It is obvious that one gets friendship by being respected. If we are weak and supine, we get nobody's friendship. People who are not overwhelmed by fear and who do, to the best of their ability, what they think is right and do not allow themselves to be pushed hither and thither by other forces and other countries are respected, and out of that respect friendship grows. I have not a shadow of doubt that whether it is in individual relations or group relations or national relations or international relations, if we give goodwill and friendship, that goodwill and friendship will come back to us.

While we should necessarily try to progress in science, and in defence science, we should remember always that the mind and the heart of man is more powerful than anything which has been invented by science. What has been invented by science has come out of the mind of man. A man of courage and integrity is a source of greater strength to a nation than the weapon he may have in his mind. The weapon is useful, no doubt, because the weapon itself is the symbol of something.

I hope earnestly that there will be no recourse in the world to the weapons of mass slaughter which have been produced by science. I hope even more earnestly that so far as we in India are concerned, we shall not be dragged or pushed into war with anybody. I hope that our policies will

always promote friendship and convey no threats and thus we shall gradually overcome the hostility of others, if there is such hostility. That is the best defence and the best way of living. At the same time, I think it is essential that we should not wait for events, but strengthen ourselves in every way, in the economic way, in the scientific way and in other ways.

### TRIBUTE TO DR. KARVE

**D**R. KARVE AND friends: We are gathered here today on a unique occasion such as has not occurred in my life and probably in your lives, and such as is not likely to occur again in our lives. I am rather overwhelmed by this occasion and all that lies behind it. I have come here, Sir, not to venture to congratulate you. It is we who have been blessed by you. If I have come here, it is to seek your blessing for all of us, so that we may have some measure of your spirit of service, your faith, and your perseverance. And may I say also your goodness, which after all is the salt of the earth which keeps life going. Though we may utter words of congratulation, in our heart of hearts, we feel both happy and sad. We feel happy that we have amongst us one of our own countrymen who can be said truly to be in line with the ancient sages of India. We are sad that we of the present generation lag so far behind.

We see the pomp and pageantry of kings and presidents, and of the publicity attending prime ministers. All this seems rather small and petty in your presence, because you have shown us in your life something which is more durable, almost timeless in its value, a man of courage and devotion and wisdom, persevering in spite of difficulties through long years of effort.

Long years ago you lit a candle in a sphere which was

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Speech at the centenary celebration of the birth of Dr. D. K. Karve, Bombay, April 18, 1958

specially dark to which you devoted yourself. Maybe today there are ten thousand candles, but it was that first candle which counted. And that makes us remember two sayings of the great Chinese sages. One is: "It is better to light a little candle than curse the darkness." Most of us, I fear, curse the darkness and are frustrated at the surrounding gloom, and because of that frustration we cannot achieve much. But the man who wants to achieve lights the candle, and the candles grow in number and the light grows. The second saying is: "All the darkness in the world cannot put out a candle which is lit." We have both these ancient sayings exemplified in your life, revered Sir. You lit a candle which has grown in numbers but all those who work in the direction which you indicated will always remember the candle which you lit.

We talk a great deal about education today. Some are dissatisfied with our system of education and criticize it. They may be justified. In any event, what you began long years ago before most of us were born, namely education of women, is certainly more important than any other sphere of education. I believe that it is more important, if there can be any comparison, for the women of a nation to be educated than its men. I say it by way of emphasizing the importance of the mothers and daughters and sisters of a nation. One of the truest measures of a nation's advancement is the state of its women. For, out of the women comes the new generation, and it is from their lips and from their laps that it begins to learn.

Political revolution is important and economic revolution is still more important, but the most important of all is the social revolution in the people. It is in the measure that the social revolution succeeds that it provides the basis of the economic stability and progress. Women play the most important part in the social revolution.

We hear a great deal about the revolution in China. We may agree with it or disagree with it. But probably the biggest thing which has happened in China is the change in the status of women. It is a feeling of liberation from the old customs which bound them down. I have long felt that in India too we shall measure our advance on the political and

economic plane by the social change, more particularly among the women of India. We are on the move. Speaking as a member of the Government of the day, I should like to say that the laws which have been passed in regard to women have given me a sense of achievement. I look upon these laws as measures which had long been due, and which would liberate the women of India and give them freedom to grow. I am convinced that if the opportunity is given to them to grow, the women of this country can render great service to this country and to the world.

Being an Indian, I naturally think of India more. I want the people of India not merely to survive but lead a fuller life from the material and spiritual points of view. I gain inspiration and confidence in that hope when I look back to the great men that our country has produced from time to time. When I see this line of great men who have come to us, sometimes when the horizon was the darkest, and have brought about change by their courage and labour and devotion, my optimism returns to me, and my courage also comes back in a measure.

You, Sir, are one of those who inspire and whose life is a record of what men can do, quietly and serenely, without shouting. The world cannot do away with men of your type, Sir, because when that type goes, the salt of the earth goes, and we become ordinary folk with no real quality in us to distinguish us. So I seek again from you, Sir, your blessing for us and for our people, whom you have served so magnificently through almost a century of effort.

## LAW AND THE CHANGING VALUES

UNLESS A COMMUNITY lives under the rule of law, it will tend to be lawless. The rule of law should bind the community. The first objective of this International Commission of

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Inaugural address at the plenary session of the International Congress of Jurists, New Delhi, January 5, 1959

Jurists which is to preserve and maintain the rule of law seems to be synonymous with the maintenance of civilized existence. And if there is to be a rule of law, there should be independent judges to administer the law. Otherwise the law may be used not in the interest of the rule of law but exploited in other interests.

Some difficulties arise. In times of war, the law ceases to function. War presumably is an absence of law, and the person with the biggest gun is supposed to be the arbiter of events. If war is an absence of law, not only on the battlefield but far away from the battlefield, the effect of war on people's thinking is to dull their sense of law. The law seldom functions with objectivity and dispassion in times of war.

If it is so during times of war, some effect of it must surely come during times of a cold war. When we live in the period of a cold war, we suffer to some extent from the psychology of war which comes in the way of objective, dispassionate consideration of problems. From the point of view, therefore, of the law, the worst possible environment for it to flourish is war and, to some lesser degree, a cold war. I am not surprised that law and justice often are casualties when such an atmosphere flourishes.

As I said, law seems to be the basis of civilized existence. Without law society would go to pieces. At the same time, society is changing. It is not static. It has changed vastly because of industrial and technological advance and the law has normally adapted itself to it. It had to. If it does not adapt itself quickly enough, there occurs a gap between the functioning of the law as it functioned previously and the new development in society due to technological and other changes.

Undoubtedly some aspects of the law must be considered to embody certain moral or ethical principles. Some other aspects may relate to the application of those principles to given circumstances, and when the circumstances change, the application may also have necessarily to change. Otherwise there is friction. Obviously the law of a thousand years ago, when society was very different, would not fit in with the society today. Therefore, the law has changed. It is changing,



apart from the basic approaches. The moment the law is static, it becomes out of touch with the changing society. I suppose the two things have to go together in life, the static element which keeps it firmly rooted in basic principles and gives a certain continuity and the element of change which is so essential. We want both continuity and change. If opportunities of change are afforded to the people through constitutional and peaceful methods, they will probably take advantage of them.

What is a country to do under foreign rule? Does the rule of law prevail? It is law imposed by an authority which does not respond to the will of the people. All imposed rule is outside the pale of law. It follows logically that the rule of law requires many things, like human rights, equal treatment, and the absence of racial discrimination.

The rule of law requires that the individual's rights should be protected. As the Attorney-General pointed out, the Constitution of India lays special stress on the rights of the individual and the whole background of our ancient law bears this out. While protecting the rights of the individual, the law does not permit that individual to function in a predatory manner against his neighbour or against society. Instead, the law is supposed to curb the predatory instincts of the individual. A line has to be drawn. Otherwise the individual or a group would become a menace to society.

I am putting before this distinguished audience some difficulties and problems which arise in my mind inasmuch as we live in rapidly changing times. If, for example, the distinguished lawyers and jurists of Plato's day who were very able men had met together, they would have taken human slavery for granted. It was an accepted thing, not only then but till much later. Nobody challenged it. And yet later it was not only challenged and condemned but uprooted practically all over the world. The social mind would not accept slavery as such. Therefore, things which may have been considered good in a certain age may become not so good or out of date in a subsequent age.

Society changes very largely because of scientific and technological developments. People's lives change. Their

associations with each other, their problems, their business, their methods of production and distribution have all changed in the last 200 years as a result of the industrial revolution. The law has tried to keep pace with these changes and has often kept pace with them, because the law which applied to the pre-industrial age would hardly be applicable to the complicated society of today. And the changes take place at a terrific pace in this jet and space travel age. The rule of law must run close to the rule of life. It cannot go off at a tangent from life's problems and be an answer to the problems which existed yesterday. It has to deal with today's problems. Yet law by the very fact that it represents something basic has a tendency to be static. It has to maintain that basic character but it must not be static. This International Commission of Jurists has the responsibility to look at this changing world, the changing social relationships and the changing relationships of nations with each other. All these involve problems in a new context, and it is difficult to look at these dispassionately in an age which suffers from the atmosphere of a cold war. But I am sure that the eminent judges and jurists who are present here and who are used to dispassionate consideration of problems would be able to face them.

I have ventured to express some thoughts which came to my mind. I do feel that just as law and war are incompatible, law and a cold war are, though to a lesser extent, incompatible. Law is a pre-condition of freedom and peace. Freedom and peace are necessary for the law to function properly.

### IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL WELFARE WORK

EVER SINCE THE starting of the Social Welfare Board, I have been in touch with it and with its activities. I have considered social welfare as a subject of great importance and I have been much impressed by the work done. I am

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From speech at the inauguration of the fifth annual conference of State Social Welfare Advisory Boards, New Delhi, March 18, 1959

glad that the Planning Commission and the Social Welfare Board have attached importance to constant attempts at evaluation of the work which is done.

If we look at the work of the Board, the predominant impression is of its size and spread. We have always had social workers in India doing good work; nevertheless that work remained un-coordinated, and large areas had been left untouched. The good work of the Social Welfare Board and its State branches suggests that a certain ferment is taking place.

A social revolution includes everyone, but it especially pertains to women. If the women do not change or progress, social life remains more or less static. And one of the most interesting and far-reaching changes which I think are coming over India today is the change among the women of India. It has occurred to a great extent in regard to women in cities and towns and has begun even in the rural parts of our country. Once it spreads adequately in the villages, this social revolution will bring tremendous results. Even in our political movement for freedom, women in India, at Gandhiji's appeal, joined it in considerable numbers, and that gave the movement its living spark. From a short-term or a long-term point of view, the progress achieved by women is of the greatest importance.

Therefore, the Social Welfare Board is not only doing good work in the sense of social reform, but is doing even more important work in the sense of pushing ahead the social revolution in India. It is a continuing process. In the past the work was confined largely to the educated section, and the welfare workers worked more or less among themselves. But a real difference has now been made with the approach to the mass of our population who are in need of the ferment of change. Our Chairman has been telling us of the work done, of the numerous projects, schemes, plans, etc. I have no doubt that the work is affecting rural India.

The Chairman has told us that special attention should be paid to the education of girls and women. All of us are agreed on that. From the point of view of proportion it lags far behind, but in terms of numbers it is a fair achievement. Again, I look upon this aspect from the point of view of the

basic changes which have been set in motion in our social fabric.

The Chairman has referred to a demand frequently made for a Ministry or a Department of Social Welfare. I have had considerable doubt whether setting up a Ministry would be the most efficient way of dealing with the subject of social welfare, the many aspects of which are spread out in the present Ministries and have to be collected together. This type of work requires the non-official, voluntary worker's approach. It requires a great deal of flexibility. I think that social welfare work can be carried out successfully in a voluntary and non-official way, with official help and guidance.

I have welcomed the co-ordination of the activities of the Social Welfare Board with the Community Development movement because both cover nearly the whole of the country and both have fundamentally the same objective in view. It would be unfortunate if they pulled in different directions or worked independently of each other. Their activities should be closely co-ordinated, the Social Welfare Board looking after the work of social welfare within the larger framework of Community Development.

We are engaged in building up the panchayats, co-operatives, etc. in our villages. I think that the Social Welfare Board should, not directly but in some form, take interest in this movement. The type of social welfare isolated from life's problems, which sets up an orphanage—I hate the word—or widows' home, may be all right in a limited sense but it does not appeal to me in the slightest. Let us have training institutions but let us drop words like "orphanage", as if they are badges of a criminal tribe. The child is likely to grow up thinking there is nobody to look after it; the "I have no parents" feeling is a bad thing. If you deal with the active problems of life, in the village, or in the city, and your work is connected with those problems, you form part of a widespread movement and not of institutions doing odd bits of work. The latter type of work may be necessary here and there but that, if I may say so, is the superior approach of the well-to-do towards the less well-to-do. You should interest yourselves in the Panchayats and see that women understand

them and go into them. Similarly, you should interest yourselves in the co-operatives. I think that the co-operatives should be a big field for work by trained women.

The Chairman referred to the need to utilize a large number of women teachers in the country. That is important. The number of women teachers is bound to grow, and if they can be set to work in the field of social welfare in rural areas, the work will immediately get a considerable accession of strength.

We have got into the habit of copying Western models. I have yet failed to understand what good it does to send people to be trained in Western countries to do social welfare work in India. Conditions are totally different in those countries. There is no such thing as an Indian village in America or England. For a trainee to be sent to America or England to learn social welfare work in those countries seems to me absurd. It is a different matter with senior workers, of course. A senior worker may go abroad to see the methods and approaches. I suggested to many persons who had been abroad that they should have spent that time here in Sevagram or in some other institution in India in order to learn about the Indian human being. The approach has to suit the conditions in India.

### ON GANDHI

WHEN I WAS invited to come here, I gladly agreed to do so. Yet I always find some difficulty in accepting an engagement of this kind relating to Gandhiji, because the thought of him fills my mind in many ways and sometimes confuses it. I am always trying to find out how he might have reacted to situations, what he would have advised and how far we have fallen away from that possible advice of his.

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From address at the opening of the Gandhi Memorial Museum and the inauguration of the conference of Chairmen and Sanchalaks of State Boards of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Madurai, April 15, 1959

That troubles me, and it might trouble others. I cannot presume to imagine that I can act up to the high standards which he would have liked us to observe and which he had himself laid down.

Gandhiji was much bigger than what all of us had imagined. He had the remarkable quality of allowing and even encouraging those who were privileged to follow him to think out their problems for themselves. He gave them his guidance, but he wanted them to come to their own decisions and to act according to their own light, even though that light might be dim. He did not want to impose himself on anyone. He certainly wanted to win the minds and hearts of people to his own way, but that was not imposition. He did not want people to suppress themselves and blindly say or do what he said. That was not the kind of following he wanted, though under the stress of his great personality people inevitably did find it difficult to function quite independently in mind.

Gandhiji was a dynamic person. He was not a person who went by some kind of rote. He had his feet firmly planted in principles, and nothing could move him from what was once clear in his mind. But he did not consider every minor aspect of life as some basic truth which could not be changed. He had realized that life is a changing and developing phenomenon and, therefore, has to be met in a developing and dynamic way. In the half-century and more of his service to India and to humanity, he himself developed and met new problems in a new or a somewhat changed way. For, he had that quality in him of sensing change and meeting it and yet keeping true to his basic ideals. How can we, as we are, talk of him and try to imagine that we are living up to his ideals? That is what troubles me. But even to talk about him is a consolation and a reminder of something big. It lifts us. Even to come to a place like this museum is good. It lifts us out of ourselves and takes us into a region which is above the petty conflicts and hatreds of our lives. It is good that we are having such museums in various parts of India. It is good sometimes even to have some kind of a statue of Gandhiji, in stone, marble or bronze. For many years I reacted

strongly against images and statues being put up, partly because I disliked worship of images of any kind and their taking the place of the inner quality which an individual should have in his worship or thinking. I felt we are too apt to perform formal functions and think that our duty is over. But on later consideration I feel that I was not right to object to a statue or something like that being put up, provided that it is good as a work of art. I have come to think it is desirable because it would be a reminder. It would bring back to those who saw it the memory of a mighty son of India, and that memory would perhaps make us better for a little while.

It is good to think of him. The mere thought of him does us good. It makes us question ourselves, even as his living presence made us question ourselves. While we rejoiced to be near him, we were also slightly tortured in spirit by the question as to whether we were worthy of him and whether we were appearing to be something which we were not. If that were so in his living presence, how much more must it be when he is not with us! The memory of him brings this eternal question.

Some of us attach ourselves to things which Gandhiji said or did. But there is always a danger of the follower losing himself in trivial details and forgetting the major lessons of the teacher. That is inevitable, because the follower is limited by his own understanding.

Essentially a man of God walked on the soil of India and sanctified it by his penance. He sanctified not only the soil of India but changed the minds and hearts of our people. To the humble people of India, it is the picture of a great person thinking of them, working for them and putting some hope and joy in their lives. It is good that we remember that picture above all else. It is also good that we remember the fundamental principles for which he stood. One of these principles is that means are more important than ends, and that no ends are right if we try to achieve them by wrong means. It is very difficult to apply the principle in our lives as we live them. Nevertheless, it is good to keep the principles in mind. I have come here today to offer my homage afresh to Gandhiji and to his memory.

## WORLD AGRICULTURE FAIR

**T**HIS OCCASION is doubly auspicious both in the cause this Fair represents and in the honoured guests who are with us to bless it. India today stands poised for new adventures. India rooted in her long past and with that past in her blood still looks forward to the future. And I have no doubt that we shall go ahead.

Through these thousands of years it is the mother earth that has sustained us and it is well that we remember that fact and not lose ourselves too much in the machines even though these are very important today. When we think of the mother earth, we think of agriculture and all the bounties which come to us from the mother earth. However much we in India may progress in the domains of science and industry, as undoubtedly we will, the basic fact remains that agriculture is of primary significance to our country and to the world.

Therefore, this particular occasion is of vital importance to us. This World Agriculture Fair represents so many things for which we stand and for which we pray. It represents that striving to give the people of India the means of satisfying their hunger and their primary necessities of life. It points to the great co-operative effort which is necessary to achieve that purpose.

This Fair also represents the co-operation of nations far removed from each other not only in distance but sometimes even in their ways of thinking. I do believe that however much the nations may differ, the essential unity of human striving remains. In this Fair we see the common effort of nations to serve and improve humanity regardless of differences in ideologies, thinking and action. In the world today the call is for ever greater co-operation between individuals, between groups and between nations. That call is so aptly represented by you, Sir, who has come to honour us on this occasion.

With all our difficulties and our problems in India, we are full of excitement because we face the future. And we intend to face it with all our strength. If we can succeed in



forming a proper synthesis of our old ideals and principles and the urges of the modern world, it is indeed good for us and for the world. We shall strive to that end not in arrogance of spirit but with humility and with tolerance to all. It is in that spirit that I come here to this great Fair today. The Fair may be a good one, but behind it and the visit of the President of the United States to this country lies a cause more important than these external manifestations. It is because this deeper cause has struck the hearts of our people that you, Sir, have seen those exhibitions of popular love and enthusiasm which have been so evident since you came here.

### WHY NUCLEAR POWER?

THE DEPARTMENT OF Atomic Energy has produced a report which is a remarkably comprehensive report. Hon. Members have spoken not only in commendation of the work of the Atomic Energy Department, but have urged the Government to go ahead at a faster pace in this direction.

It is a curious circumstance which strikes me often that in India we live in a variety of ages and centuries at the same time. I once said that we live in the cow-dung age in India, and I meant it in the sense that even now the principal source of power in India is cow-dung. It is an extraordinary position. At the same time, we are among the more or less advanced countries in regard to the development of atomic energy. So, we span not only centuries but millennia in this respect.

I have no doubt that the attention which we have paid to atomic energy has been right and very worth-while. It is worth-while from the point of view of the practical advantages which are beginning to come to us and which will come to us in greater measure. It is worth-while from an even deeper point of view, because a new age began with the bursting of the atom bomb at Hiroshima and with atomic power

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From speech in Lok Sabha during discussion on the report of the Department of Atomic Energy, August 10, 1960

coming into use. Ever since then, the development of atomic energy has made considerable progress, both for destruction and for construction. Atomic power is a real symbol of the modern world which, Janus-like, faces two ways, the way of vast destruction and annihilation and the way of great speed in construction and progress.

So far as we are concerned, we are determined not to go in for making atomic bombs and the like. But we are equally determined not to be left behind in the advance in the use of this new power. It is true that in the ultimate analysis a country which has atomic power fully developed can use it for good or evil purposes. And no declaration which I can make today will necessarily bind people in future, but I do hope that we shall create an atmosphere in this country which will bind every Government in future not to use this power for evil purposes.

Hon. Members who spoke congratulated the Atomic Energy Department, or rather the Head of that Department, Dr. Bhabha, quite rightly. But I would like to stress that our congratulations are also due to a brilliant set of young scientists who are working in that Department. The work which the Atomic Energy Department has done and is doing is to pick out young, able scientists and to provide them the requisite training and experience. In this way the Department has built up a very fine set of young scientists. In fact, I remember that some eminent foreign scientists have referred to this. When they go to Trombay, one of the remarks they make almost invariably is about the young men in the Atomic Energy Department occupying very responsible positions. I wish in other departments of our activity also we could have young men in similar positions.

India is among the very few countries in the world which have developed the technique of fabricating fuel elements. This is known to Members here, but I wish to repeat it. It is an important achievement. One of the results of this achievement is that we are saving a considerable amount of money in foreign exchange. From the figures I have, I find that after having spent Rs. 81 lakhs for the fuel fabrication facility, of which Rs. 40 lakhs was foreign exchange, we are

saving annually Rs. 45 lakhs in foreign exchange and could save more with bigger production.

So far as our Apsara is concerned, the level of operation has gone up in the course of four years, from 17,840 kWh. annually to one million kWh. It is known that the Canada-India Reactor achieved criticality on July 10. This is going to be one of the biggest isotope-producers in the world. Zerlina has yet to come; it is being built.

One of the things to which I should like to draw special attention is the Electronics Division of the Trombay establishment. The Trombay establishment has built up a very big Electronics Division which is producing various kinds of electronic instruments. And electronics definitely is a part of the future, for which we are working.

A question was asked about training. In this respect we are helping numerous universities, schools etc., and we are specially helping the Meghnad Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics. This apart, there is a proposal in the Third Plan for two inter-university atomic centres, one in North India and one in the South.

A large-scale research centre requires a team of high-class men, and we seldom have that team in one place. One of the reasons why the Trombay establishment has done exceedingly good work is that a big team of scientists work there. If all these very persons were spread out in the universities of India, the result would not have been so good. Therefore, instead of spreading out the work in different universities, we want to have, to begin with, two inter-university centres to which the universities in each region would have access. These centres presumably will have reactors and the like and other facilities and a team of people drawn from the universities will work there. We want the universities to provide this basic training and even some higher training. At the present moment, high-class training is being given at Trombay. Two hundred graduate scientists and engineers are being trained there every year, and we are training not only our own people but persons from other parts of Asia and elsewhere.

Mr. Bharucha evidently wants the programme of the

building up of atomic power stations to be expanded considerably and speeded up. I would very much like to do so. Though we should go fast, I think that we should do so on sound foundations. Therefore, we have decided to provide one nuclear power station, and we are considering the establishment of two more power stations, initially with an installed capacity of 150 megawatts each, capable of doing two shifts. I hope we shall be able to do this.

One very important factor about these atomic power stations is that they serve a dual purpose, namely producing power on the one hand and plutonium on the other. Plutonium is of the greatest importance because it is not available from outside as a commercial commodity. Its production is essential in order to enable the country to set up breeder power stations using thorium which we have in ample measure. From all these points of view it becomes very important for us to build up these power stations.

There is some apprehension about the cost of atomic power. From time to time a leading article appears in the newspapers dealing with its cost and saying that it is an uneconomic proposition to build these atomic stations. The country has to go the farthest with the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. I have not got any particulars about the Soviet Union. But here is the British Government's White Paper on the Nuclear Power Programme to which they are committed. Let me correct an error in the minds of those who think that they have given up this power programme or have reduced it. The fact of the matter is that they are going ahead. For the moment they have got large quantities of coal and oil and they are trying to use them. I shall quote a few sentences about costs. The cost of electricity has gone down. That is true. But the White Paper says:

"The nuclear costs in which capital charges are the major element are falling even faster in stations designed today. . . In the long run we shall, therefore, need increasing supplies of nuclear power. In about ten years' time it should be cheaper to generate a base load in nuclear stations than in conventional stations provided that we achieve the technological progress that is expected. To

secure this we must continue to build nuclear stations on an adequate scale."

The point to remember is that we have to carry on to achieve some result. We cannot wait for America or Russia or some other country to achieve it and then try to imitate the benefits of that. We have to build up in order to keep in the fore all the time. The moment we give up that effort and wait to take advantage of some further improvement made by a foreign country, we have lost the foothold. The British White Paper says:

"In these circumstances, the Government has decided, in agreement with the parties concerned, that the national interest would best be served by continuing, for the time being, to place orders for nuclear stations at the rate of roughly one every year."

An interesting lecture was given by Dr. Christopher Hinton at the recent tercentenary celebrations of the Royal Society. In it he shows how the costs are going down. There is a chart in it and the stations in the U.K. are mentioned. At Berkeley the cost was £ 160 per kW., at Bradwell £ 159, at the third station about £ 133, at the fourth about £ 123 and at the fifth about £ 110. Every new one makes it cheaper. It becomes cheaper because of the experience gained and technological progress. May I say that India is very favourably situated, more favourably than England or America, so far as costs are concerned?

According to a chart I have here, the nuclear costs and the conventional costs are both falling. In the case of the coal-based plant the costs fall gently whereas in the case of the nuclear plant the costs fall much more rapidly. For a 75 per cent load factor the two lines cross in 1966 and later the costs of atomic energy go down. It becomes less and less expensive than energy from coal.

It is generally admitted in other countries where conditions are less advantageous than in India that nuclear power stations are becoming and will soon become definitely economic propositions and cheaper than conventional power stations. In India which is a big country with long distances over which coal and other conventional elements have to be transported,

the development of atomic energy is even more necessary. Also, in spite of an apparently large supply of coal in India, it is not really large enough for the future. Therefore, there is no doubt that we should lay the foundations for atomic power and go ahead from now on. If we start a power station now, it will be four years before it is ready, and if we do not take steps now for the second and third stations progressively, then in future we shall be left rather far behind.

As you perhaps know, we have decided to have the first power station on the west coast of India, between Ahmedabad and Bombay. This place was chosen entirely from the point of view of various facilities. The place chosen is a place called Tarapore which is in Maharashtra but near Gujarat border. It is totally immaterial whether it is in Maharashtra or Gujarat, because it will supply power in equal measure to both. In fact, the power distribution will be controlled by a committee or a like body in which Gujarat, Maharashtra and the Atomic Energy Department will jointly be represented.

Mr. Mukerjee said something about the disposal of atomic or radio-active waste. This is a matter which is one of great concern. The International Atomic Energy Agency at Vienna have set up a number of panels on the disposal of radio-active waste and the handling and transport of radio-active material, etc. Indian scientists have been invited to be members of all these, and an Indian scientist, Mr. Sethna, was chairman of one of these panels.

I am grateful for the appreciation shown by hon. Members for the work of this Department. I think no other department of the Government of India has had this unanimous appreciation.

## WELCOME TO QUEEN ELIZABETH

YOUR MAJESTY, YOUR Royal Highness: Sitting here and looking at this great concourse of the citizens of Delhi assembled here, I imagine that you, Madam, and you, Sir, will carry an impression which will abide with you. Delhi, as you well know, is a city full of hoary memories. The dust of Delhi is full of the past; and we here not only in Delhi but in India carry the burden of this tremendous past. It is something which has made us and conditioned us, yet it is a burden occasionally because it ties us down. Yet Delhi lives in the present and is all the time looking to the future. This spot, where we meet, is symbolic, because it is the meeting ground of Old Delhi and New Delhi. In many ways India is a meeting ground of the past, the present and the future, and already many of the things of the past, which have very little relation to the present, have become history. In the old days, I am told, and I know it myself to some extent, people in other countries thought of India as a country of snakes and snake-charmers, of the rope-trick and of the bejewelled Maharajas. I do not deny that these are still present in India but they become scarcer and rightly so, because India looks to the future, keeping its feet well on the soil of India.

Long years ago we dreamt of the freedom of India. Gradually through the labour and the sacrifices of the people, we made that dream into a reality. Now we dream of another future when that reality will affect the lives of hundreds of millions of our people. That is economic freedom for raising the level of living of these millions of people. So for these long years we have been on a pilgrimage. India has been a country of pilgrimages from the remote ages, but the new type of pilgrimage which we undertake is one of a different kind. It is a pilgrimage in time to catch the future, for in the past we often strayed away from our path and we suffered for it. We do not want to stray again. We want to hold to the present and convert it into a better future.

You, Madam, and you, Sir, have been here for the last

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From speech at civic reception to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, Delhi, January 28, 1961

few days at a rather special time, during the celebrations of our Republic Day. You have also witnessed the celebrations attendant on your visit to Delhi. You have seen Delhi at play. Do not imagine that we play always. We have very hard work to do. We have to work hardest, because we have undertaken mighty tasks. There can be no bigger task than raising and changing 400 million people, and that is the task in which we are engaged today. We play occasionally, and it is good to honour friends and honoured guests but in our mind there is ever that old quest which continues. We always think of the steps which we have to take in order to reach the end of that quest. You are welcome here in this city of Delhi, which has been a city of kings and emperors but which today is the capital of the Republic of India, and I think no king or emperor could give you the welcome which the republican citizens of Delhi have given you.

### THE MESSAGE OF TAGORE

ALL OVER INDIA we have been celebrating the hundredth birth anniversary of Gurudeva. In many foreign countries also the centenary is being celebrated. Yet I think the celebration at Santiniketan has a deeper and a more intimate meaning not only because Gurudeva sanctified this place by his physical presence for many years but because he wished that the Visva-Bharati which he created should represent in some manner his spirit and his message. A seed was sown here, and those who are serving this institution as teachers and scholars and the many others who, though not directly associated with it, are influenced by it are, to some extent, its fruit. It is therefore proper that we should celebrate this occasion not merely with the pomp and ceremony of celebrations elsewhere but in a way peculiar to this institution. The teachers, the students

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From the Acharva's address to special Convocation of the Visva-Bharati during inauguration of the Tagore Centenary celebrations, Santiniketan, May 9, 1961. Courtesy : Rabindra-Sadana, Visva-Bharati



and the scholars who are privileged to be associated with this institution have to try to live up to the message and to the ideals which Gurudeva placed before all of us. These ideals are not meant for a particular institution. They are meant for the whole of India and, in a measure, for the whole world. The Visva-Bharati is closely connected with those objectives and ideals, and it is proper that you should observe this day in a mood of rejoicing certainly, but also in a mood of introspection and with a degree of searching of the heart as to how far you have lived up to those ideals.

The Visva-Bharati came into existence in Gurudeva's time, and some years back it put on new garb of a university under our statutes and laws. It was made clear even at that time that the Visva-Bharati was not and should not be a replica of other universities in India. If the Visva-Bharati was to serve its special purpose it must function in its own way and in the manner laid down by Gurudeva. I hope, therefore, that whatever changes may take place in future, the Visva-Bharati will retain the essential stamp which Gurudeva gave it. For example, this mango-grove here has a definite meaning. It takes us back to the past of India, to the *ashrama* approach to education, and it also teaches us the virtues of simplicity. Today when we want the rapid advancement of education, we are inclined to think too much in terms of big halls, noble buildings and the like. These are necessary but if the spread of education depends on brick and mortar and is conceived in terms of these structures, its purpose is likely to be defeated. We have to think more of the human being whom we are to educate. If we think of the old *ashrama* way of teaching simply and economically, we will not only make rapid progress but be on a surer foundation.

Gurudeva was a rare kind of person to be born anywhere. In India he represented a multitude of things. The most dominant impression which one gets about him is that he was one in the long line of the ancient sages and *rishis* whom India has produced from time to time. Yet this tradition did not prevent him in the slightest from being a modern of moderns and making the whole world his field of thought and action. He was a great Bengali, but being a Bengali did not come in

the way of his being a very great Indian. He was an intense nationalist, yet his nationalism did not come in the way of his widest internationalism. He broke down barriers which might limit his personality and his message was to break down barriers wherever they were—in our customs, in our thinking, in our lives, in our general functioning and in our traditions. I should like that aspect of his message to be remembered most of all, because unfortunately the people in India have grown up with all these barriers around them, which have come in the way of our unity, our homogeneity and our growth in the past and which will come in our way in future if we do not put an end to them. It has become essential for us to break down these barriers and that was a basic message of Rabindranath Tagore. Apart from the barriers of caste and race, the barriers that we create in our minds narrow our vision and our thinking and stunt us. In India we talk a great deal about our nationalism, and yet the fact is that we are narrow-minded and have not yet grown to the full degree of *rashtriyata*. We think in terms of many narrower needs at a time when even the idea of nationalism is becoming out of date. Therefore, we have not merely to repeat this great message but to try to live up to it.

I have a fear that in this year of Gurudeva's birth centenary his message and ideals might be swept away in the flood of words and eloquence and that we may imagine that we have done our duty by him. That is a dangerous delusion which comes over us often. I should like you specially here at Santiniketan and the Visva-Bharati to remember that the test of your homage is not what you may say about him but the way you live, the way you grow, and the way you act up to his message.

It has been a great privilege for me to be associated with this institution. The last time when I saw Gurudeva was about two or three years before his death. The tragic news of his death reached me when I was in Dehra Dun Jail. When I saw him last he spoke to me about Santiniketan and the Visva-Bharati and expressed a wish that I should serve it and help it in some way. His words remain with me always and I have often asked myself if I have carried out his wishes properly

or if I have failed. Perhaps I could have done better. Anyhow I feel it my duty and privilege to be associated with this large family at the Visva-Bharati and I am grateful to those who have made it possible for me to be so associated. I look upon this institution as highly important for our country and even for other countries. I earnestly hope that it will prosper and carry on the traditions of Gurudeva.

### A GIFT TO THE NATION

THERE IS A certain uniqueness about this function and this factory. The uniqueness lies in the fact that this factory has been made out of the profits or the surplus of the older Hindustan Machine Tools factory and rightly, therefore, it is called a gift to the nation by those who have been working in the old factory. This should be a matter of great satisfaction to all those who are concerned with the Hindustan Machine Tools factory, and I do congratulate them. Mr. Mathulla, the Managing Director, has been very closely connected with the growth of the factory, but no such task can be performed by one individual. It is the team work of large numbers of people co-operating and functioning together that counts. So our congratulations should go to the thousands of workers in this establishment. May I also refer to those who originally set up this plant here, the well-known Swiss firm of Oerlikons who laid the foundations? They built the first HMT plant and helped in training our people in the early stages, and their work has yielded this very fine result.

When I arrived in Bangalore this morning I went first to another big concern here, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., and I saw there the flight of the new aircraft built by HAL. It is rather a big achievement for anybody anywhere and more specially for us. This supersonic aircraft not only represents

high technical attainment but a thing of beauty. My mind is always excited by special achievements.

Recently, when some of our young men climbed a Himalayan peak in spite of great difficulties, I felt excited. There is such a thing as inner vitality in a nation which ultimately counts and which comes out in these unique adventures. Take another example. Our atomic energy plant in Trombay near Bombay has done magnificent work in nuclear science and in the use of nuclear energy for civil purposes. The work done fills me with a great deal of enthusiasm. Similarly I am excited by your building up this factory out of your own profits. That shows how efficiently and worthily you have been functioning. The designing of that aircraft and the building of this factory are unique things. If the unique became fairly common, India would be a very advanced country indeed. So I am grateful to you for having given me this opportunity to be present on what, in a sense, is a historic occasion.

We in India are passing through a very exciting phase in our existence. It is a phase of the changing of a traditional society into what might be called a more modern society. Unless a social group or a country changes, it loses its pre-eminence and becomes backward. In modern life, science and the progeny of science, techniques, technology etc., are of the highest importance. They govern our lives and the conditions of living today. Therefore, we should understand and profit by them. What is happening today behind the Five Year Plans and other economic programmes in India is the change-over from the traditional society into a modern society.

We feel it is the only way in which we can raise the level of our people. This is an amazingly big task. We have undertaken it. There is no other way. I wish all of you, whether you are workers in the HMT or any other project or place, to realize that all these efforts become ultimately a part of the tremendous adventure of raising 430 million people of India to higher standards of living. It really means serving India, but in another sense it means serving the world. I believe India has one-seventh of the population of the world and, therefore, it means serving a good part of the world. The growth of

India in industry, in technology, in science, and in other ways will benefit not only India but the world at large in promoting peace and co-operative living between nations. Thus we may bring together our own traditional ideals and modern techniques and have a marriage of the two, and serve ourselves and the world. I want you to bear in mind that we are privileged to live through this changing period and to participate in bringing about these great changes. It is a great privilege, more particularly to those of you who are young today and who will no doubt see these big changes working themselves out and producing a new India. The new India will be ultimately what you make it and what you are.

I congratulate all of you again. Since you have shown how you can function with success, it is not necessary for me to express the hope that you will do so in future. You are bound to do so.

### MANUFACTURE OF MIG AIRCRAFT

**I** MIGHT DEAL with the issue of the MIG planes. The facts are quite simple. At no time did I think that this matter would become a major international issue.

Our Defence Forces, perhaps rightly or not, were agitated ever since the United States gave the Sabre jets to Pakistan. No Defence Force is ever satisfied with what it has. It wants to make its position more assured. Our Defence Forces pointed out that in certain respects Pakistan was stronger in the air than we were and they wanted naturally the latest type of planes. For my part, I believe, as a practical proposition, that it is better to have a second-rate thing made in our own country than to rely on the first-rate thing which we have to import and which may stop functioning for lack of spare parts or something else. Therefore, our policy has been to make things and we have succeeded very largely. The manufactures in our Ordnance factories have gone up.

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From reply to debate in Rajya Sabha, June 23, 1962

We have made a very fine supersonic aircraft in Bangalore with the help of a very eminent German engineer. But it takes time to make more of it. It will take two or three years before it is available in numbers. If we have them, we would not require anything else. We have made the Avro almost from scratch. We got the blueprint from England and we have made such a good transport plane that some of the nearby foreign countries want to buy it off even before we have made it.

So, when our Defence Forces felt anxious, we thought immediately of manufacturing a plane rather than merely buying it. It is getting terribly expensive to buy such items, but we have to buy them, to begin with. We do not want to continue that process. Fortunately, we have got excellent engineers and mechanics in our Air Force and they are in charge of the Avro being made at the Hindustan Aircraft Factory. They are first-class men. And what is more, they are men with enthusiasm, and they like building up such things for India. We examined various planes. We had plenty of information about American, British and French supersonic aircraft. Some of them were flown by our people too, and they gave us their report.

Meanwhile some of our first-class engineers were sent by us to the Soviet Union to enquire whether they could make an engine or supply us with an engine for our supersonic aircraft made at Bangalore, because the engine we had got for it from England had ceased to be made owing to various reasons. We were suddenly called upon to face such a situation. So our engineers were sent out to find out about the engines and they remained in the Soviet Union for some weeks.

The engine which the Soviet Union offered us was excellent but it did not fit into our aircraft. They said, "Change the aircraft". We said, "No. We cannot change the aircraft. You change the engine." There was a long argument as to which was to be changed. Ultimately they agreed to change the engine to fit in the aircraft.

Only about four or five days ago another team of officers has gone to Moscow to decide how that engine is to be fitted in. While the team was previously there, they were interested as experts in the MIG. There was no offer or suggestion from

us. They saw the MIG, made enquiries, had discussions and gave us a report after coming back. For a variety of reasons they thought that the MIG was a good proposition for us. So far as the performance was concerned, it is, according to the engineers, about the same as the American plane or the French Mirage, but it is probably more suitable for us. It is meant for rougher work. It does not require very special airfields but can land on ordinary air-strips. Its price also was much less. It is easier to manufacture. It is not so sophisticated and so complicated as the American plane or the Mirage is. That is important, because although we have developed a great deal in our technology and in our manufacture of aircraft, still we cannot compare ourselves with the experienced technicians in America or in Russia or in England. We discussed the matter amongst ourselves.

Just then somehow the matter got out into the press, not only here but in the press of England, America, and may be in other countries. To our great surprise there was a tremendous noise made about it, but we had not looked upon it in that way. We thought it was relatively a simple operation of our buying anything which we chose to.

May I go back a little? About six years ago we were confronted with the fact that Pakistan had got some aircraft from America and was ahead of us. We were worried about that and we wanted to buy some aircraft. Among the planes proposed to us was the Ilyushin fighter aircraft which we might buy from the Soviet Union. Till then we had not bought any aircraft from anywhere except England, America and France. We had not gone outside that charmed circle. It so happened that a Minister of the United Kingdom was here then and we discussed the matter with him. He said, "If you are going out to buy these Russian aircraft, it will hurt us very much. We have dealt with each other all this time and now you go outside and buy abroad." He pleaded against it. We had, in fact, thought of Russia only because the British had refused us delivery. They could not supply us with that type of aircraft. Then he said, "We shall see to it that you get it", although previously they had, in reply to our enquiry, said that they could not supply us the aircraft. Rightly or wrongly, we

decided to buy British aircraft then, because they promised to deliver them quickly.

At that time, I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom because he had written to me in regard to the matter. I replied to it. We said that we would not give up the freedom to buy anything from where we liked and when we liked, and that should be admitted. "In the present case", we said, "as you are prepared to supply what we want—previously you were not—we will buy it." I added that, because of our relations, if we wanted to buy anywhere else we would let them know, consult them and then decide, the decision being ours. This happened about six or seven years ago. I am mentioning it because when the present question arose, I was reminded of that letter and was told that I had promised to consult them and to give them a chance before we came to a final decision. I told them that we had consulted our experts and they had considered various aircraft in England, America, France and Russia.

It is patent that no independent country, and certainly not India, can agree to the proposition that our purchases of aircraft or anything can be vetoed by another country. It is an impossible thing to agree to. And I must say nobody has said that to us. They have all agreed that we can buy where we like and what we like. Nevertheless they have expressed their regret and sorrow that we should buy from markets other than their own.

In coming to a decision we are certainly not going to be governed or influenced by either pressure tactics from outside or the hope that aid will come if we did not do it. We want aid badly for our civil, economic programmes. Our Five Year Plans and other economic programmes depend on that aid but we are not going to take that aid or ask for that aid if it means giving up our independence in any respect. I was glad, therefore, to observe that hon. Members who referred to this matter, although they may hold differing opinions on other issues, did agree that it was improper for any country to put pressure on us to buy or not to buy a particular type of aircraft which we want. In this matter there is a certain unanimity, which is as it should be.



## A MAN OF VISION

I AM GLAD to be here today to fulfil a promise which I made some years ago. Unfortunately, there have been repeated postponements of the opening of this museum, partly due to me, and partly perhaps due to other causes. I am glad that at last I am here, and that we are participating in the formal opening of this museum.

The history of a country can be viewed in many ways. It is the history of the activities of its people. Yet in a sense the history of a country is the history of the famous men who have lived in that country. Famous not because they were kings or rulers or warriors, as of old times, but because they helped in building up a nation in creative activities. We judge a period of history by asking who the leading men were whom the public honoured. To my mind, a really great sculptor, creative artist, writer or engineer is a much bigger person than a king. An engineer is definitely a creative person, because he builds.

In the present age, more especially in India, the creative builder is the man whom we have to honour, Dr. Visvesvaraya was a creative builder not only in the schemes which he undertook, but in the thinking and the impetus he gave to planning during his long life. He is one of our famous men and we should regard him as an example for others. Such men should be honoured in their lifetime and after they have passed away.

We are at present busily occupied with building India and building the people of India. It is a huge task. For every Indian, whoever he or she may be, it should be a source of great joy that he or she is living in a period when this nation, which has a magnificent past, is building for a great future.

When the celebration of the birth centenary of Dr. Visvesvaraya took place, I touched on something to which reference has been made today, namely the joining together of science and spirituality. I mean by spirituality something deeper and broader than mere religion. It is a part of religion, but is a deeper and a broader part of it. I think these two are

essential, if the modern world should survive and progress. Without science you perish; without spirituality you perish. We see in Dr. Visvesvaraya a man of vision and of creative activity. We see in him a man looking ahead who built around himself and around others a tradition of looking to science and technology which was very necessary for India. There were others working to that end, but he was pre-eminent in that respect. It is right that we have this museum as a memorial to him, but more so in the sense of carrying on the work which he began.

A museum should not be a dead thing. It should be a living thing which evokes pictures to your mind of the past, of the present and of the future. A reference was made by one of the speakers to this museum seeking to be something like the "Deutsches Museum" in Munich or the Chicago Museum. This is a noble ambition. I have been fascinated by museums. I was fascinated by the Chicago Museum when I went there. I went to the Kensington Museum in London repeatedly. The "Deutsches Museum" in Munich appeared to me to be a place which it was difficult to leave. It was so interesting and fascinating, walking miles upon miles of its corridors and its rooms, thoroughly exhausted, yet wanting to remain there. That is the type of museum I should like to have, showing the growth of technology and science, transport, communications, and many other things which are important in modern life.

I am happy to open this museum in memory of Dr. Visvesvaraya and in anticipation of the future which Dr. Visvesvaraya looked forward to build and which, to some extent, he did build.

## THE TRANSFER OF PONDICHERRY

I WOULD LIKE to refer to the recent *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry to India. This matter has been pending for a large number of years, and most of us and many Members of this House must have felt frustrated at the long delay in this transfer. Ultimately the transfer has taken place. We realized then and we do now that France was going through a difficult period attended by big constitutional changes, and therefore although we pressed for it, we did not wish to say or do anything which might injure our relations with France. I am glad that the policy of patience pursued by us has led to a successful result.

Pondicherry and the other former French Settlements are now part of India. Presently the matter will come up before this House in another form. The main thing is that we have achieved our objective in accordance with our policy and practice, peacefully and without injuring in any way our relations with France, and I should like to express my appreciation of the French Government and specially of its eminent President, Gen. de Gaulle.

## SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA was a unique personality. India has produced great men from ancient times, and Swami Vivekananda is one of them. These great men are great for all ages. They live and grow in their times, say things which are relevant to their times, but they interpret old values and past wisdom and apply them to the problems of the new age. It is from this that their precepts derive their unusual strength. Swami Vivekananda knew of the ancient basis of our approach to life and of our achievements, and he explained these to the people in a language which they could understand easily. He was steeped in the lore and learning of India. But he did not limit himself to India. It was because of this that his voice was listened to with attention in other lands as well.

I see a large number of children here. One may ask what I have to say to these children, and whom they should look up to for learning things. Possibly I may not be able to place before them a name from the history of India as apt and as appropriate as that of Swami Vivekananda. Let us look up to him, let us read him, and let us learn from him many things; let us learn, above all, the one thing which manifested itself in him, namely energy, indomitable strength. Every word of his drips with this energy and he used this energy at such a terrific rate that he died young. He did not live to complete his fortieth year, and even before that he shook the whole of India, and people abroad. He perceived that India had degenerated into a weak nation. Indians are intelligent and have many good qualities but they are weak. The foremost quality which a people require is strength. If they do not have strength, their intelligence, their knowledge and all their other qualities become ineffective. Therefore, the lesson which Vivekananda imparted to the people of India, to every nook and corner of India, was the lesson of strength. During his short life he went all over India and preached; and what he taught made a powerful impact on the country.

From speech in Hindi at the inauguration of the centenary celebration of the birth of Swami Vivekananda, at the Ramakrishna Mission, New Delhi, February 3, 1963

After him came Mahatma Gandhi. He taught us a number of things and the greatest lesson which he taught was the same which Swami Vivekananda taught us, namely we should remain fearless. Do not be afraid; for things are easy of achievement to the man who is fearless. If we are afraid of ourselves, we are afraid of others. We should be strong as individuals and as a country. Our young men particularly should have opportunity to get acquainted with the ideas of Swamiji. We are not fortunate enough to hear his voice, but we can read what he taught and wrote and learn from his teachings. His words are packed with vigour. Whoever reads them feels their impact.

Today our country is facing a difficult situation. It is confronted with big problems. We have to resolve them. These problems are a great test for the country. We have to stand up to these problems fearlessly. If we do so, the problems will disappear. I shall say that in this situation we should receive some light in our hearts from Swamiji. It will make it easier for us to find the way because, as you know, Swamiji combined in himself both the old and the new. The greatest problem before India is to effect a compromise between the old and the new. Both the old and the new are essential, and we have to correlate them. Swami Vivekananda did this, for he knew the ancient Indian ideals and learning espoused by our great men and he also knew the world of today. That is why his words have such power. Indians must accordingly be powerful. It is a great idea. I do not mean physical strength, though that is also good. All types of strength are good, strength of heart, strength of mind, strength not to bow down before a wrong.

The Chinese have attacked us. We have to face the attack and we shall face it. But what is more difficult and more important is a determination to face one's own weakness. We have to strengthen ourselves first. In order to do that, we should tread the right path and purify our minds. And as I have said, the one example I can place before you from which all of us can learn is that of Swami Vivekananda. In a short span of life he moved India and in a way that that movement continues even after him. I came here to offer my

homage to Swamiji and to express the hope that our countrymen of today and tomorrow, particularly our children and young men, will keep before them the example of Swami Vivekananda and learn from his teachings and from his life.

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